



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-247
Monday
24 December 1990

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-247

CONTENTS

24 December 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Council of Ministers Announces Internal Changes [Tirana Radio]	1
Rally Marks Democratic Party's Legalization [Tirana Radio]	1
Stalin's Name Removed From Institutions [ATA]	1
15,000 Rally for Release of Political Prisoners [Vienna ORF]	1
Hundreds Attend Masses Held by Catholic Priest [AFP]	2
Journalist Interviewed on Demonstrations, Reform [Vienna Radio]	2
Attorneys View Defense in Shkoder, Durres Trials [Tirana Radio]	3
Trade Unions To Reform, Seek Shorter Work Week [Tirana Radio]	3
Yugoslav Newspapers Report on Recent Events [BORBA, etc.]	4
Korbeci Leads Trade Delegation to SFRY [ATA]	5
Trade Agreement Signed 21 Dec [Tirana Radio]	5
SFRY's Mitrovic Receives Korbeci [Tirana Radio]	5
Carcani Greets Austria's Vranitzky on Reelection [ATA]	5

BULGARIA

Prime Minister Popov Comments on New Government [BTA]	6
Foreign Minister Views Shevardnadze Resignation [BTA]	6
Parliament Meets, Debates Various Laws	6
Passes Political Amnesty Law [BTA]	6
Debates Economic Reform [BTA]	7
Debates Land, Health, Pension Bills [BTA]	7
Foreign Aid Agency Director Gives Briefing [Sofia Radio]	7
Power Workers Begin Work-To-Rule Actions [Sofia Radio]	8
Strike Stopped Over Christmas [Sofia Radio]	8
Teachers Go on Strike Against Education Minister [BTA]	8
New Environment Minister Supports Nuclear Power [BTA]	8
Claims of Higher Radiation Levels Dismissed [BTA]	9
Sofia Dailies Comment on New Cabinet [BTA]	9
BSP Coordinating Council Established in Varna [DUMA 16 Dec]	9
Yonchev Blames BSP for 'Condition of Society' [BTA]	9
Fuel Shortage to Continue in 1991 [DUMA 16 Dec]	9
Plovdiv Troops Reportedly Lack Discipline [NARODNA ARMIYA 19 Dec]	10
Agreement on Free Feed Shipment of U.S. Feed Corn [BTA]	11
Alarm Over 'Repression' of Bulgarians in USSR [Sofia Radio]	11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Calfa Holds News Conference on Federal Government [Prague Radio]	12
Ministers Answer Personal, Professional Questions [Prague Radio]	19
Changes in Customs Law; More Offices, Guards [CTK]	20
Communists Win Elections in Major Industrial City [Novacek in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 18 Dec]	20
Klaus Explains Abbreviated Olomouc Speech [LIDOVE NOVINY 17 Dec]	20
Klaus Eyes Media 'Campaign' on Forum Conclusions [Prague Radio]	22

OF Leader Calls For Broadest Possible Unity [CTK]	22
Slovakia's Miklosko on Final Soviet Withdrawal [Prague TV]	22
Last Soviet Unit Withdraws From Slovakia [CTK]	23

HUNGARY

Government Views Shevardnadze Resignation [Budapest Radio]	24
Jeszensky Sees No Change in Relations [Budapest Radio]	24
Gorbachev-Antall February Meeting To Go Ahead [MTI]	24
Incidents Occur With Soviet Border Guards	25
Border Guard Official on Chop 'Clash' [Budapest Radio]	25
Soviet Border Reinforced in Zahony [Budapest Radio]	25
Alert Lifted on Soviet Border [Budapest Radio]	25
Joint Agreement With Soviets on Oil Delivery [MTI]	25
Foreign Ministry Statement on Romanian Relations [MTI]	25
European Communities Approve Loan 21 Dec [MTI]	26
President Goncz Issues Communique on New Ministers [Budapest Radio]	26
Antall Queried on Multiparty Talks, Budget, IMF [Budapest TV]	26
Government Reverses Uranium Mining Decision [MTI]	27
Oil, Gas Trust To Import, Export Independently [MTI]	27

POLAND

Walesa Arrives for 22 Dec Warsaw Ceremonies [PAP]	28
News Team Protests Walesa Advisers' Interference [Warsaw TV]	28
Commission Declares Walesa Election 'Valid' [PAP]	28
Walesa Delivers Inauguration Speech to Assembly [Warsaw Radio]	28
Walesa Addresses Armed Forces Ceremony [Warsaw TV]	29
Walesa Address at Presidential Insignia Ceremony [Warsaw TV]	29
President Walesa, Jaruzelski Discuss Presidency [Warsaw Radio]	30
Walesa Faces Great Political, Economic Challenges [Jakubowski in TYGODNIK GDANSKI 16 Dec]	30
Sejm Rejects Constitution Draft Amendments [PAP]	31
Democratic Union Holds First Meeting 15 Dec [RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Dec]	31
Ministries' Budgets Rise With Inflation [GAZETA WYBORCZA 17 Dec]	32
Ambassador Does Not Rule Out Visas for Russians [Vienna AZ 22 Dec]	32
Sejm Deputy Exposes Report on Minorities [Warsaw Radio]	33
Iraqi Foreign Affairs Official Visits [PAP]	35
Majewski Sums Up Results of Talks [PAP]	35
* Romanian Refugees Crowd Western Border Town [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 8-9 Dec]	35
EEC Ambassador on Nation's Associate Membership [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 17 Dec]	35
Warsaw Withdraws From CMEA Defense Commission [PAP]	36

ROMANIA

December Revolution Anniversary Celebrated	37
Iliescu Delivers Speech 21 Dec [Bucharest Radio]	37
Roman Speaks to Parliament [Bucharest Radio]	43
PNT-cd Leader Ratiu Speaks [Bucharest Radio]	43
Revolution Anniversary Results in Demonstrations	45
Antigovernment Protests in Timisoara 21 Dec [AFP]	45
Civic Alliance Holds Rally [ROMPRES]	45
Iliescu's Resignation Demanded [ROMPRES]	45
Rally Held in University Square 21 Dec [Bucharest Radio]	46
Rally Held in Brasov 21 Dec [ROMPRES]	46
Anniversary Marked in Craiova, Cluj [ROMPRES]	46
Ceremony Held at TV Building 22 Dec [ROMPRES]	46
Wreaths Laid at Heroes' Cemetery 22 Dec [ROMPRES]	47

'Hundreds' Rally in University Square [Bucharest Radio]	48
Radio Reports Vandalism [Bucharest Radio]	48
University Square Traffic Blocked [ROMPRES]	48
Traffic Resumes [Bucharest Radio]	48
'21 December' Marks First Revolution Anniversary [ROMPRES]	48
Senators Voiculescu, Iosif Attacked by Protestors [ROMPRES]	48
PNT-cd: President Must Be Forced to Resign [ROMPRES]	48
Government Holds 22 Dec Meeting on Anniversary [ROMPRES]	49
Quiet Christmas Atmosphere in Timisoara [ROMPRES]	49
Bucharest Students Stop Strike; Issue Communique [ROMPRES]	49
Constanta Strike 'Uncertain'; Dockers Working [ROMPRES]	49
5 Cluj Students Begin 'Indefinite' Hunger Strike [ROMPRES]	49
Television President, TU Leader Hold Talks [ROMPRES]	49
FSN Concerned About Assault on Iordache [ROMPRES]	50
Iordache Views Events in Timisoara, Resigns [ROMPRES]	50
PNT-cd Protests Vatra Romaneasca Statement [DREPTATEA 18 Dec]	50
PNL Leader Criticizes Government's Priorities [ROMPRES]	50
PSDR Group Opposes Internal Leadership Stand [ROMPRES]	51
Convention Set Up To Fight for Truth, Democracy [ROMPRES]	51
Civic Alliance's Draft Charter Reported [ROMPRES]	51
Iliescu Meets Inquiry Commission Into June Events [ROMPRES]	52
TAROM Navigation Personnel Continue Strike [ROMPRES]	52
Solidarity Rally With Moldova Held in Iasi [ROMPRES]	52
PNT-cd Hails Moldova's Independence Declaration [DREPTATEA 18 Dec]	53
Roman Sends Congratulations to Bulgaria's Popov [ROMPRES]	53
Neagu Attends Black Sea Region Countries' Meeting [ROMPRES]	53
Economic, Trade Agreements Signed With Korea [ROMPRES]	54

YUGOSLAVIA

Slovenia Votes in Favor of Independence [TANJUG]	55
Officials View Plebiscite Results [TANJUG]	55
Serbia's Second-Round Voting Ends 23 Dec [TANJUG]	55
Socialists Win 'Convincing Victory' in Kosovo [TANJUG]	55
Albanians Win Kosovo Vote Despite Boycott [TANJUG]	56
Montenegrin Elections Reported 'Successful' [TANJUG]	56
Croatia Adopts New Constitution 21 Dec [TANJUG]	56
Croatian Serbs Reject New Constitution [TANJUG]	57
Knin Serbs Protest New Constitution [TANJUG]	57
Zagreb Rally Protests Constitution [TANJUG]	57
Amendment on Republic Relations Adopted [TANJUG]	57
Croatian Ministry Bans Public Gatherings [TANJUG]	58
Kosovo Authorities Detain Trade Union Leaders [Zagreb Radio]	58
Slovenian Defense Minister Says Army 'Calm' [TANJUG]	58
Slovenia's Peterle Does Not Expect Civil War [Vienna KURIER 22 Dec]	58
JNA Said Ready To Defend Country's Integrity [Belgrade Radio]	59

Council of Ministers Announces Internal Changes

*AU2212193090 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Unattributed report: "Decree on Some Changes in the Composition of the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution and on the proposal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decrees:

1. Simon Stefani is relieved from the post of chairman of the State Control Commission, and is pensioned.
2. Ali Kaza is appointed chairman of the State Control Commission.
3. Hajredin Celiku is relieved from the post of minister of transportation, and is pensioned.
4. Salvador Franja is appointed minister of transportation.
5. Niko Gjyzari is relieved of the post of minister and general secretary to the Council of Ministers, and is appointed general director of the Albanian State Bank.
6. Fatos Nano is appointed general secretary to the Council of Ministers.
7. Andrea Nako is relieved of the post of minister of finance and is transferred to another post.
8. Qemal Dysha is appointed minister of finance.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 22 December 1990. No. of decree: 7,443. For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, [signed] Ramiz Alia, president; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Rally Marks Democratic Party's Legalization

*AU2212201090 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Sokol Perihati report: "Rally on the Occasion of the Democratic Party's Legalization"]

[Text] This afternoon, the Democratic Party organized a rally in the student center to celebrate its legalization. Members of the Democratic Party's Initiating Commission spoke at the rally. Sali Berisha pointed out that the Democratic Party is being formed without anyone's direct help. He said that this party will unswervingly struggle to fulfill the democratic aspirations of the people on the basis of the Constitution, the UN Charter, and the basic documents of the CSCE. He appealed for wisdom and moderation, and to the freedom-loving and patriotic spirit of our people in their struggle and efforts for progress and democracy. He then made some comments in connection with the elections and the electoral campaign. Berisha also called on democratic forces to commit themselves to comprehensive efforts to strengthen unity and the spirit of national conciliation.

Eduard Sinani dwelt especially on the role of students in carrying forward the democratization process in

Albania. Political pluralism, he said, is an expression of the freedom-loving spirit of our people.

Gramoz Pashko also presented various principles of the economic program for which the Democratic Party will struggle. He spoke about overcoming difficulties in the economy as quickly as possible, among other issues. He also spoke about the problem of integration in the family of Europe. We will enter Europe by building, not by destroying, he said.

The archaeologist (?Meritan Ceka) also greeted the meeting, and stressed the need for unity and justice in the future, to carry forward the democratic process in our country. Condemning the ugly deeds committed in some cities of the country, he said that democracy is not anarchy and vandalism, but calls for dialogue and the paths of peace.

At the rally, Prenc Zogaj spoke about the organization of the Democratic Party's press. [A speaker is heard shouting "Long live the Democratic Party," which is followed by cheers] The Democratic Party has received a telegram from the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, whose text was read out at the rally. The rally took place in a correct manner, in accordance with the laws and regulations in force for manifestations of this kind.

Foreign journalists were also present at the rally.

Stalin's Name Removed From Institutions

*AU2112133890 Tirana ATA in English 1315 GMT
21 Dec 90*

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA)—On the proposal of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] and taking into consideration that the historic circumstances have changed since the time when decisions were adopted in our country to honour J.V. Stalin, the Council of Ministers of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania] decided:

1. To deprive the state enterprises, objects, and institutions bearing the name of J.V. Stalin of his name and remove his symbols.
2. Concerning the agricultural cooperatives and the dwelling centers named after J.V. Stalin, their inhabitants should decide upon according to the laws into force.

This decision immediately enters into force.

15,000 Rally for Release of Political Prisoners

*AU2212202090 Vienna ORF Television Network
in German 1830 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] We have just heard that this evening 15,000 demonstrators gathered in the Albanian capital of Tirana. They are calling for the release of all political prisoners and the postponement of the elections that are planned for February, which they call a farce.

Hundreds Attend Masses Held by Catholic Priest

AU2112145490 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Nicolas Miletitch report; place and date not given]

[Text] Shkoder, Albania, Dec 21 (AFP)—Every day at 4:00 p.m., hundreds of people gather outside this Albanian city's Catholic cemetery to listen to Father Simon Jubani say mass. As night falls Father Jubani, who has spent 26 of his 63 years in Albanian jails and camps, gives a long sermon. He speaks of Moses, Joan of Arc, the Pharaohs, Bethlehem and Christmas to the hordes of faithful starved of religion for 23 years.

In 1967 all churches and mosques in Albania were closed by the communist authorities. It was only in early November that Catholics—who make up 10 per cent of the population with 70 per cent Moslems and 20 per cent Greek Orthodox—were allowed to organize legal mass.

The sight of the faithful is an event in a country which, just over a month ago, forbade all public expressions of faith. Father Jubani, assisted by a choirboy in a white robe, celebrates mass in his small chapel, faced with a crowd strung out through the cemetery, some leaning on bicycles, some sitting on tombs. There are children in pushchairs, blind people with guides, students, elderly women and soldiers in uniform all following the traditional Catholic gestures as though they had never stopped practising their faith.

Father Jubani's voice, broadcast with the help of a homemade sound system, is sometimes drowned by birdsong. Two candlesticks throw a feeble light in the cemetery which slowly sinks into darkness. In a wing of the cemetery's chapel, which was renovated a month ago by volunteers, a choir sings hymns, echoed by a few old women in the crowd who remember them from times past.

Once mass is over, many faithful come to touch and kiss the altar. Mothers lift their children so that they can kiss the wooden crucifix hung above the altar. In a small, badly heated room, Father Jubani is surrounded by his new parishioners including some of Shkoder's many Moslems. Father Jubani is not worried by his new burden of work. "I survived 26 years in prison through prayer, reading and good physical condition," he said optimistically. He was released in April 1989 from serving a life sentence imposed because of his work as a priest.

His first legal mass celebrated on November 4 in Shkoder cemetery attracted 5,000 people. The following week 50,000 squeezed into the small cemetery to attend mass. Similar numbers are expected for the Christmas mid-night mass on December 24. It will be the first Christmas mass openly celebrated in Albania for 23 years.

Journalist Interviewed on Demonstrations, Reform

AU2112151690 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1100 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Michael Kerbler report on telephone interview with Ardian Klosi, a supporter of the Albanian Democratic Party]

[Text] [Announcer] After 46 years of communist rule, the government under President Ramiz Alia now seems to be ready to allow democratic reforms. On the other hand, drastic action has now been taken against the participants in the recent demonstrations that were critical of the regime. The legalization of opposition parties in Albania has so far not been affected. The Albanian Democratic Party was the first one to register. Before long, members and supporters are to be informed through an independent newspaper called DEMOCRATIC REBIRTH.

One of the possible contributors to this newspaper is 33-year-old publisher and editor Ardian Klosi, who lives and works in the capital, Tirana. With a convinced communist background—his father was justice minister until the Justice Ministry was abolished in 1967—Ardian Klosi has become a supporter of democratization in Albania. Michael Kerbler managed to talk to him on the telephone in Tirana:

[Kerbler] Ardian Klosi, who describes himself as a supporter of the newly founded Albanian Democratic Party, said that the situation in Albania is quiet. After the students protests early this month, President Alia and his government sought dialogue with the intellectuals and took the first essential steps toward democratization of the country. The legalization of an opposition party, a step which has now been taken, must be seen as the highlight of this necessary development. Ardian Klosi emphasizes that the reform steps must be seen in the context of history, not only as far as the dominating role of the communist party of Albania to date is concerned, but also as far as the changes in the political landscape in Eastern Europe are concerned. Klosi:

[Klosi] In the past few weeks, many things have happened here which nobody would have expected only a year ago. These were really huge steps for Albania: New measures, democratization, let us say objectives [sentence as heard]. In my opinion, it is thanks to President Alia that the changes have been achieved peacefully so far. I must say the majority of these changes, because, unfortunately, there have also been acts of violence.

[Kerbler] Albania is at a crossroads. Ardian Klosi, who is editor in a publishing house and also works as a translator, is aware of this. Yet, he believes that it is still too soon to assess whether Albania is steering toward a phase of political development comparable to Bulgaria, or whether it will embark on a course of violence, such as Romania.

[Klosi] There is always a danger of violent action. A lot will depend on how the government and the party behave, and also on how the newly founded party behaves. The Albanians have suffered a lot in their history, including in the past few years. We have so many economic, intellectual, and cultural problems. We intellectuals, workers, and farmers hope that there will be no violence.

[Kerbler] Just like the political opposition in the country, Klosi also criticizes the long prison terms given to those who spoke out in favor of more democratic rights at anti-government rallies. The great majority of demonstrators protested peacefully. Klosi said that there were also rowdies among them, but he was told that agents provocateur also joined the ranks of the demonstrators. Compared with other European countries, the sentences for the misdemeanors are too high and unfair. After the sentences were announced the Albanian Democratic Party stated that several confessions were obtained by torture. As far as the further pace of reform is concerned, 33-year-old Ardian Klosi, who, by the way studied in Austria, does not dare to make any predictions.

[Klosi] I am rather careful with predictions. Nevertheless, the government or the responsible bodies of the party have so far reacted in a sensible way. They legalized the new party, and I hope that they will take further steps in this direction, and that they will take these steps in good time.

[Kerbler] The path toward pluralist, democratic Albania will be hard and stony, Ardian Klosi said. How quickly this objective will be obtained depends not only on the political framework conditions but also on economic factors, such as the standard of living of the people in his home country. Still, Ardian Klosi said that today there is a good chance that we will pursue this course toward democracy.

Attorneys View Defense in Shkoder, Durres Trials

*AU2212210090 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Report on interview with Franc Jakova and Rustem Syzliu, chairmen of the bar associations in Shkoder and Durres; by unidentified ATA reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] In connection with the participation of defense attorneys in the investigation and trial of those accused of taking part in criminal activities during the events of 13 and 14 December in the cities of Shkoder and Durres, an ATA correspondent conducted these interviews with Franc Jakova and Rustem Syzliu, chairmen of the bar associations in Shkoder and Durres.

Question: How did the bar associations function to ensure the defense before the investigators and the courts of those accused of participating in the events which took place in your cities?

Franc Jakova answers: All those accused of criminal responsibility for acts committed during the events of 13 December in the city of Shkoder were guaranteed an attorney's defense, when they asked for it, from the investigation onward, from the suspects' arrests to the conclusion of the investigations. Of the 18 accused who have been tried, 12 had defense attorneys during their trials. Six of the accused were asked by the president of the court at the start of the trial whether they wished to have defense attorneys, and they said that they did not want them. The trials of the accused took place in open courtrooms, and the attorneys carried out their duties in defending those accused according to all the demands of the law. I would like to add that the attorneys of our bar association showed great mobilization in giving immediate legal aid to the suspects during their investigation and trial, because the majority of the accused were defended by attorneys without even paying the appropriate fee for the service rendered to them. Rumors in circulation claiming that the Shkoder bar association did not function, or that suspects were not guaranteed defense attorneys even when they asked for them are, therefore, malicious and do not correspond to the truth.

Rustem Syzliu said: The attorneys of the Durres bar association also took part in the defense, both at the investigation and trial of those accused of taking place in the events in the city of Durres on the afternoon of 14 December. We helped to ensure respect for the suspects' legal rights and the objective solution of all issues, both in their investigation and trial. In the cases where the charges were unfounded or were not fully proved, we called for the investigator to lift the charges or for the court to declare the accused innocent of specific charges. So far, as a result of the active part played by the attorneys, the Durres District Investigator's Office has lifted charges relating to a mass of issues, such as the charges against Besnik Rada, Kloit Hoxha, Sami Avdia, Flamur Kamberi, and others. So far, we have taken part in the trials of 15 defendants. As a result of the attorneys' work, several defendants have been declared innocent of some of the charges made against them. In the case of persons who did not agree with the verdict of the District Court, we have lodged appeals with a higher court. The trials took place with open doors and with the participation of the people and representatives of the press.

Trade Unions To Reform, Seek Shorter Work Week

*AU2212213990 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] A plenum of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania was held this morning in the lecture hall of the National History Museum in the capital. The plenum discussed the political situation in the country and the tasks arising in the campaign for the elections of deputies to the People's Assembly as an independent and pluralist political and social organization and electoral subject. The chairmen of district and local trade union committees and councils and social activists also took

part. Sotir Kocollari, president of the General Council of the Trade Unions, delivered the main report on these problems. The plenum supported the decision of the 13th Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum for deepening democratic processes, an important measure which will accelerate the development of democracy in our country. It also approved Comrade Ramiz Alia's message to the Albanian people.

In accordance with the demands posed by the new process of the democratization of the country's life, the plenum stated that Albania's trade union organization will reform the content of its work so that it will genuinely serve to fulfill its members' essential demands. The Trade Unions of Albania are in favor of including all the country's working people in their ranks, regardless of their political, ideological, or religious convictions or their affiliation to parties or other political and social organizations. The organization's program states that it will seek to have sanctioned by law the direct participation of representatives of professional organizations in the approval of decisions made by enterprise managements on production planning, the distribution of profits, the allocation of labor resources, working conditions, (?housing), and other living conditions. It demands that the Labor Code lay down as a legal obligation the signing of collective contracts between trade union organizations and the managements of enterprises and institutions to define reciprocal daily obligations. The program outlines the rights and authorities which the Trade Unions will acquire by law to call for work stoppages and to confront management with its legal responsibility in cases where, in spite of the demands of workers and trade unions, it does not provide the labor and production conditions laid down by law, to ask that price increases should be harmonized as fairly as possible with wage increases, etc. The Trade Unions will ask the state organs to study and issue legislation on reducing working hours and the working week. The program also stresses this organization's duties to employ those who are not working, ensuring workers' working and living conditions and their leisure and recreation, especially that of young workers, as well as to develop and further strengthen ties and relations with different trade unions in the world.

Carrying out these duties, the plenum pointed out, will be accompanied by a range of improvements and changes in organizational structure, gradually moving to the creation of an organization based on professions with fuller independence and authorities, and to the necessary changes in the statute of the Trade Unions of Albania. The participants asked questions and made comments and suggestions for the program's improvement, and stressed the need for greater work to cultivate the high ideals of patriotism, solidarity, social equality and justice, and progress among the ranks of its members. The plenum approved the electoral program of the Trade Unions of Albania for the campaign of the election of

deputies to the People's Assembly. It also decided that the 11th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania will be held in 1991.

Yugoslav Newspapers Report on Recent Events

AU2012160390

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 18 December, Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 18 December, and Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 17 December carry reports on the latest events in Albania.

Belgrade BORBA carries on page 12 a 400-word report by M. Antic entitled "Time-Out for Democracy" in which he reports a telephone conversation with a person in Albania "all of whose 'reports' so far have been confirmed in full." The person says that the situation is calm in Tirana and elsewhere, but "one can see that something has been happening from the fact that strong security forces are present at many public places in larger Albanian towns, fearing new unrest."

Further on, Antic's interlocutor says that apart from the already formed Democratic Party, "it is more and more certain that those people had started all this—Tirana University students—will organize themselves into a separate party."

"We have also learned that the question of trade unions is a particularly topical question among Albanian workers.

"The Albanian public, our interlocutor says, expects with great interest two commissions to conclude their work: one formed by the Central Committee Politburo of the Albanian Workers Party and another one, formed by the Albanian Democratic Party, the so-called Central Electoral Commission. Both have the task of making proposals until the end of the year—and some claim by 26 December—"for Albania to enter a multiparty system and parliamentary democracy."

Zagreb VJESNIK carries on page 12 an unattributed 450-word report entitled "Organizers of the Unrest Arrested," which includes a statement by "the leader of the Albanian student movement, Azem Hajdari, given to the special correspondent of the Croatian News Agency, HINA, in which he says that the fact that President Alia agreed to talk with them made them persist in their demands.

"I do not know, Hajdari says, what could have happened otherwise. Some agencies and journalists who have not been in Albania at all, but who have been acquiring their information through embassies, have written that I had said at the meeting that the new party will advocate the unification of Kosovo with Albania, which is a big lie. We as a party and I personally support Kosovo as a republic within Yugoslavia. We respect existing borders and consider them to be inviolable."

Ljubljana DELO carries on pages 1 and 3 a 1,200-word report by Branko Jokic entitled "Situation in Albania

has Somewhat Calmed Down," which says, among other things, that "many observers believe that Kadare fled to France in agreement with Alia, because he will be able to influence feelings in Albania much better from there. In Albania, neither he nor Alia himself could begin the process of democratization and the dismantling of the Party, because their worst opponent in doing so was the very powerful Sigurimi. Well-informed people from the group of prominent intellectuals told your correspondent a month ago that this is true, that Alia is 'powerless' and that he is also in danger himself."

Korbeci Leads Trade Delegation to SFRY

AU2012152690 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT
20 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 20 (ATA)—On December 19, a government trade delegation, headed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, left for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to conduct talks and sign the long-term agreement and protocol of goods exchange and payments for 1991 and border trade.

Trade Agreement Signed 21 Dec

AU2112200990 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] The 1991-1995 agreement and protocol for the exchange of goods and services between the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the SFRY Federal Executive Council and an agreement for trade in border areas were signed in Belgrade today. The documents were signed for the Albanian side by Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci and for the Yugoslav side by Franc Horvat, SFRY federal secretary for foreign trade. These documents lay down that trade will be carried out in convertible currency, using all the forms of commerce used in international trade.

On the basis of the relevant lists, which will serve as guidelines for the work of the two countries' foreign trade enterprises, it is planned that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export Albanian export goods such as various minerals, artistic products, carpets and rugs, canned goods, fresh vegetables, etc. to the SFRY, while the SFRY will export chemical raw materials, raw materials for the textile and plastics industries, common consumer goods, etc. to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The members of the two delegations and Kujtim Hysenaj, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Belgrade, took part in the signing ceremony.

During his stay in Yugoslavia, Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci also met managers of various Yugoslav firms, and discussed the opportunities that exist for cooperation with various Albanian foreign trade enterprises in order to increase the volume of trade and cooperation in fields of mutual interest such as the food and chrome industries, agriculture, tourism, etc.

SFRY's Mitrovic Receives Korbeci

AU2112201090 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] During his stay in Belgrade, Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci was received at a special meeting by Aleksandar Mitrovic, deputy president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council. At the meeting, both sides expressed a readiness to further develop relations of economic cooperation to mutual benefit.

Kujtim Hysenaj, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Belgrade, was also present.

Carcani Greets Austria's Vranitzky on Reelection

AU2012152890 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT
20 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 20 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, has sent the following message of greetings to the chancellor of the Republic of Austria, Franz Vranitzky:

"On occasion of your reelection to the important post of the chancellor of the Republic of Austria, it is my pleasure to convey my warm congratulations and best wishes for successes in your high duty.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation in mutually beneficial fields between Albania and Austria will develop and strengthen non-stop, to the good of our peoples, peace and cooperation in Europe."

Prime Minister Popov Comments on New Government
AU2112155290 Sofia BTA in English 1508 GMT
21 Dec 90

["Bulgaria's New Government Is Strong and Stable, Prime Minister Popov Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—At the first news conference Prime Minister Dimitur Popov has given he expressed his conviction that the new government would be a strong and stable one because it is broadly supported by the main political forces and because of the assertion of a constructive spirit in the cabinet, which has been made of teams of people at the different ministers who share the same views.

The three deputy prime ministers—Aleksandur Tomov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Dimitur Ludzhev of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and Viktor Vulkov of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, who also took part in the news conference, supported this position in one or another form. They rejected the allegations that one or another political force dominated the government. The government is dominated only by common sense and political compromise, Mr. Vulkov said.

The priority fields of the government's activity are the stabilization of the country's economy and the market and the preparation of an economic programme which will be made public at the beginning of 1991. It will be drawn up in compliance with the recommendations made by the International Monetary Fund.

Bulgaria's foreign policy will be polyvalent, Mr. Popov said. The country will seek to actively promote its relations with all countries, paying special attention to its integration with Europe and to maintaining good-neighbourly relations with the Balkan countries, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, minister of foreign affairs, said. He stressed the dynamic positive changes brought about in Bulgaria's relations with some other countries in the last months—the United States, Turkey, et cetera.

Mr. Aleksandur Tomov and Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev will supervise jointly the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior, the representatives of the BSP and the UDF announced. They emphasized their readiness for constructive cooperation without any confrontation.

Had we not managed to form a cabinet, political extremism and neototalitarian thinking would have been the only winners, Mr. Tomov said.

Mr. Dimitur Popov assessed the events related to the resignation of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze as an element of the complicated processes which are under way in the Soviet Union and expressed his conviction that these developments will have an impact on the situation in Bulgaria.

It's crazy, Mr. Popov said when asked about his opinion about the attempts at autonomy of some cities and regions in Bulgaria inhabited by people with different

ethnic self-awareness professing different religion. In this connection Mr. Popov underlined the resolution of the government to safeguard the rights of all Bulgarian citizens without any discrimination. The Council of Ministers will pursue a consistent policy for the normalization of the strained inter-ethnic relations, the cultivation of respect for the state, its official language and symbols and the strict observance of the constitution and the law.

Foreign Minister Views Shevardnadze Resignation
AU2112174790 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—According to the new Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, the resignation of Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, his Soviet counterpart, will have a strong impact on Bulgaria, but he did not comment on what the impact would be.

Unpredictable developments which would be difficult to interpret are possible in the Soviet Union—a huge country with complicated problems, Mr. Vulkov said. But this holds good for Bulgaria too, he added.

Parliament Meets, Debates Various Laws

Passes Political Amnesty Law
AU2112123490 Sofia BTA in English
2152 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—This evening the parliament passed a Law on Amnesty and Restoration of Confiscated Property.

Now that a democratic order is being established in Bulgaria, it is necessary to amnesty acts declared to be crimes but which actually were an expression of the struggle against the oppressive regime, it is pointed out in the motives of the bill moved by the parliamentary group of the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The period covered by the amnesty starts from March 19, 1945, the day the Law in Defense of the People's Rule came into force. This law affected mainly people who were inconvenient for the regime.

An amnesty law was adopted in 1964 and several other laws on the amnesty of people persecuted for political reasons in the past were adopted after November 10, 1989. However, these laws did not cover all acts constituting crimes according to the Bulgarian legislation. So far fleeing abroad was amnestied only if the person returned within a set time limit. Now this condition has been canceled. The hitherto amnesties did not affect the property sanctions imposed on the sentenced.

The law adopted today amnesties crimes against the republic, against the bodies of power, etc., not covered

by the former laws. The acts of "treason" and "espionage" are amnestied. The former regime declared people who opposed the regime but did not perform such acts traitors and spies.

The new law provides for the restoration of confiscated property and of the fines imposed on persons sentenced for political reasons. The property confiscated from the persons deprived of Bulgarian citizenship will be restored after the restoration of their Bulgarian citizenship. Political emigrants will not be liable to sanctions upon their return to Bulgaria.

Yesterday the parliament adopted a Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Penal Code which provides guarantees that no one will be persecuted for being a member of or for leaving a political organization.

Debates Economic Reform

AU2212181490 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT
22 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly today resolved to speed up Bulgaria's steps towards full membership of the Council of Europe. Parliament will invite the Commission for Liaison with the European Non-Member Countries of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to hold a session in Bulgaria next year. Official representations will be made for the admission of Bulgaria as full member of the European Communities.

Today parliament passed in principle an accountancy bill which meets the world standards and takes into consideration the experience of Europe. The passage of this act is assessed as a necessary condition for the economic reform because accountancy so far served the bureaucratic system and the unlimited domination of state property.

The 1991 national budget bill must be introduced in parliament by February 10, 1991.

MP's of all factions formed an industry parliamentary circle which will be seeking to speed up the passage of the economic reform laws.

Debates Land, Health, Pension Bills

AU2112191090 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Parliament resumed the debates on the important draft law of ownership and the use of arable land.

Once again the apple of discord was whether arable land should be leased.

Although the land law has been under consideration for three days now, it is not passed even at first reading. According to the programme of parliament laid down in the agreement of the political forces, it should be passed by the end of the year.

Today the MP's passed a bill amending the Public Health Act according to which private medical practice can be set up along with the state-run free-of-charge medical establishments. Privately run medical practice was banned in the 1960's.

According to the bill, which will probably be passed very soon, the establishment of hospitals run by cooperatives and religious and charity organizations is also allowed.

The MP's discussed a bill amending the Pension Act.

Today for the first time in the last forty years Christmas was mentioned in parliament. Bishop Pankratiy, MP, greeted his colleagues on the occasion of this holiday which is a public holiday as of this year.

Foreign Aid Agency Director Gives Briefing

AU2112223890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bulgaria needs urgent aid in several areas, announced Todor Petkov, leader of the Foreign Aid Agency.

During today's regular briefing at the Presidency, he described the agency's work to date, its structure, and future activity. He emphasized that the most serious problems are connected with health care, food supplies, the energy industry, and ecology.

There is no question of creating a panic, stressed Mr. Petkov, but it is important to be aware that the situation is critical. Despite this, many things depend on our own efforts. The agency will not ask for anything we can supply ourselves, he added.

One of the agency's major problems is controlling the distribution of aid. The journalists were asked to help in preventing any diversion of the aid from the purposes for which it is intended. The agency is making immense efforts to speedily obtain supplies of animal feed in order to save the lives of farm animals. Promises have been received from the Netherlands to deliver feed valued at four million guilders. Austria has also promised today to send feed valued at half a million dollars, and delivery of a shipment from France is awaited.

While stressing that these amounts are not large, Mr. Petkov said that this is urgent aid from Europe to tide us over until the [word indistinct] thousand tonnes of corn arrive from the United States. The problem of arranging transportation for this corn is already settled, and it will arrive.

Switzerland will also send aid in the form of medicines [words indistinct]. The shipment is expected to arrive on 4 January.

Power Workers Begin Work-To-Rule Actions

*AU2012211290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 20 Dec 90*

[Text] Today the power workers at 21 electric power plants and electric power enterprises in the country began effective trade union actions of the Japanese type. The actions include rigorously fulfilling the regulations and instructions on technical operation and labor safety. The actions pose no threat to hospitals, children's establishments, nor food industry enterprises, nor to enterprises operating continuous production cycles.

Trade union commissions have been set up which, in accordance with the Labor Code, will obligatorily shut down installations and machinery which threaten the health and lives of the power workers, which will also have an effect on electrical and thermal energy supplies to the population.

The stubborn refusal of the leadership of the Energy Industry Committee to submit its resignation has led to an escalation of our trade union actions, which in their turn may lead to unforeseeable consequences, states the united strike committee.

Strike Stopped Over Christmas

*AU2112223090 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] With a view to ensuring supplies to citizens during the Christmas holidays, the power workers strike committee has decided to suspend the effective actions from tomorrow evening [22 December]. The committee will continue the actions from 0800 [0600 GMT] on 27 December until a satisfactory decision is made by the government on our trade union demands—this was announced by Miroslav Mitovski, chairman of the united strike committee, to a BTA reported.

Today the power workers were joined in the effective trade union actions which they began yesterday by sections of the collectives at the thermal power plants in Varna, Bobov Dol, and the Maritsa-East complex, as well as by collectives at almost all the electricity supply enterprises.

Teachers Go on Strike Against Education Minister

*AU2112123690 Sofia BTA in English 0906 GMT
21 Dec 90*

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—The national strike committee of the Podkrepa teachers' Syndicate declared readiness to strike because of its disapproval of the election of Mr. Matev Mateev as minister of education.

Late last night, several hours after the new Bulgarian cabinet was sworn in before the National Assembly, the Podkrepa teachers' syndicate declared that it would go on strike immediately after the Christmas holidays which will continue till the resignation of Minister Mateev.

Over the past two months more than 70 per cent of the teachers in this country expressed in different ways their disapproval of Mr. Matev who occupied the same post in Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government.

The protests against Matev stem from his work as a professor and as secretary of the party organizations of the Communist Party at the Sofia University until about ten months ago.

New Environment Minister Supports Nuclear Power

*AU2312170990 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT
21 Dec 90*

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—The new minister of environment, biology professor Dimitur Vodenicharov from Plovdiv, took up his post full of hope. The ministry has got important problems to tackle, but I am worried by the fact that they are to be solved at a time when the country is having hard times, he said.

In his opinion the first thing to begin with is obtaining detailed and precise information about the environment, of which a competent analysis should be made. The main points of the analysis should be made public. Prof. Dimitur Vodenicharov hopes that the people realize the years-long pollution of nature cannot be "swept away" overnight. It will take years for some regenerative activities to yield a result.

It is necessary to update the programme of the ministry and grade the problems. The experience of the countries with similar environmental problems which have made progress in their solution should be studied. There is nothing shameful in referring for help to those who could give it to us, the minister stated.

In principle I am for nuclear power plants, he said, but specified that they should be rendered perfectly safe. According to the minister of environment nuclear power engineering is especially important for Bulgaria's economy.

In his opinion, besides the ecological problem the country's economic and social problems should also be taken into account when closing harmful productions.

Minister Vodenicharov will cooperate with the Green movements and parties in the country and with all departments which could contribute to the solution of the ecological problem.

Prof. Dimitur Vodenicharov was surprised when he learnt he had been nominated for a ministerial seat. He is not much talkative as other professors usually are, maybe because he was born under the sign of Pisces.

Claims of Higher Radiation Levels Dismissed

AU2212150690 Sofia BTA in English 1355 GMT
22 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—The level of radiation in Bulgaria is absolutely unchanged, said the Ministry of the Environment, dismissing the allegations to the contrary of foreign media. The ministry says that its information is based on a coordinated effort of several ministries and research institutes in the country which switched on their radiological control equipment on the night of December 21 to 22.

Sofia Dailies Comment on New Cabinet

AU2112130590 Sofia BTA in English 1107 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—Mr. Filip Dimitrov, the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), said in an interview for "DEMOKRATSIYA" that the oppositional coalition was guided solely by moral considerations in its decision to participate in the new cabinet. As it became clear that the BSP (Bulgarian Socialist Party) cabinets are absolutely incapable of relieving the people's condition someone must take the responsibility for the painful first steps of the reform, he said.

"Sometimes wishes change with the needs and necessities of the nation. If we had not obtained a government last night we might have fallen into confrontation tomorrow", stated to "DUMA" Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, number two in the BSP and deputy prime minister.

Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, considers the cabinet a transitional one and the permanent cooperation between the BSP and the UDF impossible.

In a commentary in "DUMA" the editor-in-chief Stefan Prodev, M.P., accuses the opposition of "preferring to be represented by its most aggressive part that has never proved, so far at least, that they want to work normally with the BSP". He warns the leadership of the BSP that it "has entered a complicated game and made compromises which will cost it much if not justified".

The leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic party Mr. Petur Dertliev believes the government will have a fair chance of success if it succeeds in preventing its work from getting "ideologized". He noted that the government enjoys a support "no one has ever had" and appeals to it to act with reason and energy.

"The new cabinet's average age is under 50 and there is only one lady in it: Mrs. Emilia Maslarova, minister of employment and social welfare", says "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK".

All papers publish the statement of the Prime Minister Dimitur Popov that the new government should start the reform "with energy, wisdom and on a large scale".

BSP Coordinating Council Established in Varna

AU2112132790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
16 Dec 90 p 2

[Nikolay Zhelev report: BSP Coordinating Council Established in Varna]

[Text] A Regional Coordinating Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was established in Varna. It consists of 27 members. The 12 chairmen of the municipal BSP councils of the former Varna Okrug, members of the BSP Supreme Council, and BSP people's representatives are members of the Coordinating Council.

Nikolay Todorov, Grand National Assembly chairman, who also is a member of the Regional Coordinating Council, talked about the work of the Grand National Assembly. He met his voters at Provadiya constituency, who elected him as people's deputy.

Yonchev Blames BSP for 'Condition of Society'

AU2312191490 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT
23 Dec 90

["There Is Not Yet a Socialist Party in Bulgaria," Senior BSP Official Claims"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA)—"The party did not have enough courage to admit its serious guilt for the current condition of society," Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], told a Socialists conference in the provinces today. "Communism has gone from the country but Bulgaria has not yet got a Socialist Party. The name Bulgarian Socialist Party is just an invitation to a dance, an order for a future state of affairs," said the senior official of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party.

Fuel Shortage to Continue in 1991

AU2012205090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
16 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Violeta Simeonova report: "Next Year We Will Have Less Oil Than Now"]

[Text] "We will face hellish difficulties in anything related to oil supply. Next year we will not receive even the quantity we have this year," Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov answered a question about the end of the fuel crisis.

Andrey Lukanov pointed out that the supply from the USSR has decreased already in November to such a degree that in December we could expect a maximum of 200-250,000 tonnes of oil from the USSR. Nevertheless, as a result of the daily efforts of the government, another Bulgarian tanker was sent last week to the USSR. It will be loaded with oil. A certain quantity may be expected

from Libya, which has debts to Bulgaria. There is an agreement with Syria, also based on this country's debts to Bulgaria.

All those deals for processing foreign oil will not bring fuel to our country, Todor Lyutskanov, deputy general director of Neftokhim in Burgas, said. He thinks that most of the fuel that will be processed, will be sold abroad, to pay for the currency needed for obtaining the raw material.

Our market is so frightened at the moment that it cannot talk about normal consumption, Todor Lyutskanov said. He pointed out that production now is 50 percent of what it was last year, while at the same time the quantity of oil received from the USSR is 20 percent of what we used to receive. He said that in December the country actually has about 60,000 tonnes of oil. However, according to him, coupons for fuel have been distributed, and they amount to more than the real need at present. He assumes that with or without privileges, with or without any need, many citizens and companies have supplied themselves with coupons for quantities which are much larger than their needs.

Despite the fact that "Petrol" stopped the sale of gasoline in Sofia about one week ago and on Friday [14 December] the sale of gasoline throughout the country also was stopped, Neftokhim continues to daily produce about 1,571 tonnes. This is the data for the period of 1 to 13 December: 2,196; 2,683; 3,299; 1,251; 1,109; 1,335; 1,209; 1,198; 1,229; 1,236; 1,165; 1,249; and 1,246 tonnes, or a total of 20,425 tonnes have left Neftokhim in the first two weeks of December. Why, precisely where, and for what reason are these amount being kept in "Petrol" stores, and what explosion of Christmas drivers' rallies will develop around the gasoline stations when they open, is anyone's guess, Mr. Lyutskanov said.

Without committing myself to a final forecast—this is the task of the new government—I think that the supply of more than 8-9 million tonnes of fuel per year, even with foreign help, will be a very difficult task, said Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. According to him, the lower use of liquid fuel in future crisis years is the only alternative the country has, regardless of who rules it.

Plovdiv Troops Reportedly Lack Discipline

*AU2312162090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 19 Dec 90 p 2*

[Interview with Colonel Krustyu Kuzmanov, provost marshal at the Plovdiv Garrison, by Senior Lieutenant Angel Vulkodinov; date and place not given: "Everything Lies in the Hands of the Commanders"]

[Excerpt] [Vulkodinov] The tasks are well-known, and the garrison is a large one, but what are your own problems?

[Kuzmanov] The first problem is the shortage of staff—the provost marshal's office has only two officers and

one driver. This has been the same for years, and the situation will continue. We realize the difficulties, and have made no claims for an increase, but the problem still remains.

A further problem is the lack of technical equipment for communications and control between the provost marshal's office and the patrols.

However, the soldiers give us our biggest headaches, especially those in the unit in which officer Nedelchev serves. They can be seen in the town at all times of the day and night, dressed half in civilian clothes, half in uniform. The railway troops also cause problems, both for the same reasons and because they wander about without identity papers. We show understanding toward the soldiers, because they are not responsible, but the civilian population may draw conclusions from their appearance regarding our Army, and this is what is unpleasant.

[Vulkodinov] Colonel, do the conduct and discipline of the soldiers satisfy the requirements of the military statutes?

[Kuzmanov] It is hard for me to discuss such matters because, if I have to assess the standard of discipline of the troops in the garrison, I must say that it is unsatisfactory and does not correspond to the requirements of the statutes. In my view, the problem lies in the irresponsibility of the officers and sergeants in the servicemen's training and education.

[Vulkodinov] Do you consider that the lack of interest on the part of the commanders is caused by the lack of a statute for servicemen?

[Kuzmanov] This may be so, but this is no excuse. Such a claim cannot be valid for a man who has chosen his profession himself, being fully aware of the difficulties which he will encounter in his work. I have 26 years of service, 15 of these in front-line units. I have held all posts, but have never seen anything like this before.

[Vulkodinov] Colonel, which are the most common breaches of discipline, and who commits them?

[Kuzmanov] During the last six months we have recorded 600 breaches connected with incorrect uniform, military ethics, conduct, and so on. However, the most frightening development lately concerns cases of conscripts leaving barracks without permission between supper and taps. For example, during a 40-minute period on one particular evening we caught 29 soldiers in bars and discotheques! Most of the personnel who are under arrest are soldiers and student noncommissioned officers, which is perfectly normal, bearing in mind the lack of interest shown by their commanders. Very few officers and sergeants were arrested—only two officers and 11 sergeants during the six-month period. [passage omitted]

Agreement on Free Shipment of U.S. Feed Corn

AU2212190690 Sofia BTA in English 1816 GMT
22 Dec 90

[Text] New York, December 22 (BTA correspondent)—Bulgaria will receive free 100,000 tonnes of forage maize from the United States. The agreement on this shipment was signed by Mr. Ognyan Pishev, the Bulgarian ambassador to Washington, and by senior U.S. Government officials.

This aid was promised to the president of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev when he visited the United States this autumn. It is granted for the first time and comes as part of an aid package which the United States will provide to other East European countries as well. The first amounts of forage maize will be shipped in the coming days. In Bulgaria they will be distributed by the newly established Foreign Aid Agency.

A group of experts of the U.S. Agency for International Development will arrive in Bulgaria in January to specify the needs of expert assistance with the respective government ministries.

Alarm Over 'Repression' of Bulgarians in USSR

AU2212153990 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] A declaration by the Committee for Preserving Bulgarian Traditions in Sliven sent to the Bulgarian Radio expresses alarm over the recent events in Moldova and the Ukraine, in particular the repression and outrages against the Bulgarian population there.

Stressing that these people have been subjected to oppression for more than 150 years by Russian imperial chauvinism, Romanian nationalism, and, finally, Stalinist internationalism, the document states that in the Soviet Union at the moment the Bulgarians living in Moldova are compelled by the authorities to learn the

Romanian language, because the Bulgarian language is banned. Alarm is voiced over the fact that capable, talented people without any reason are beating up and physically maltreating anyone found speaking Bulgarian in the streets and in public buildings.

The situation is the same in the Ukraine, where Bulgarians are obliged to learn the Ukrainian language and only speak Ukrainian.

The declaration also states other facts. Cruel terrorist acts are being committed, including beatings and violence against Bulgarians, and attacks on Bulgarian villages. In the village of (?Stoyanovka), in the Kazgul Rayon in Moldova, Bulgarian houses were set on fire, and Bulgarian reading rooms and schools were closed. At the moment the Bulgarian church in the town of Bolgrad has been turned into a store for fuel and building materials. In 1988, the celebration of St. Cyril and Methodius Day in Bolgrad on 28 May was stopped, after a special detachment of KGB troops was sent to break up the festive procession. The organizers were branded as terrorists and criminals.

As a mark of protest against the repressions, Georgi Bogdanov, the sole Bulgarian representative in the Moldovan Parliament, has declared an indefinite hunger strike, causing danger to his health and life.

Pointing out that the facts listed form only part of the harsh anti-Bulgarian program, the authors of the declaration state that mother Bulgaria must not forget her children living abroad, and assure the repressed Bulgarian population that there will always be a place for them in their original native land.

The declaration of the Committee for Preserving Bulgarian Traditions in Sliven is signed by the committee's chairman Zhelyaz Kondev; its spokesman Khristo Bodurov; and by Dr. Boncho Iridzhakov, chairman of the Social Democratic Party—Non-Marxists in Sliven and member of the Macedonian Cultural and Educational Association in Bulgaria.

Calfa Holds News Conference on Federal Government
LD2212060590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0900 GMT 21 Dec 90

[News conference by CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa at the Federal Government Office in Prague—live]

[Text] [Calfa, in Slovak] Esteemed friends: In the course of this year I had many opportunities to meet with the journalists individually. I did not have the opportunity to meet you all together like this. I indeed consider this necessary and, in the long run, useful for myself and maybe for you, too. We should now tell each other how we imagine the entry of the Federal Government and, in the long run, the entire Federal Executive into the new year. The Federal Government—the government of national understanding—was appointed on 10 December by then President Husak, who resigned immediately afterwards. On 19 December the government delivered the principles of its policy statement to the Federal Assembly. On 29 December the president of the Republic was appointed. In this statement, if we can go back to it, the Federal Government based itself on several philosophical points of its future work. As to the internal political sphere, at that time we considered it exceptionally significant and exceptionally important. It was a matter of absolute priority. We based ourselves on the need to change, in principle, the internal political picture of Czechoslovakia, its political structure, all the political mechanisms, and, in the long run, to create space which we call pluralistic democracy. At the same time, we promised that we would prepare free elections. The first acts of the Federal Government in this sphere in fact were aimed at fulfilling this obligation as told to the Federal Assembly. These were the steps that created the environment for the activity of all the political parties and political formations, democratic and civic initiatives. They were the steps that did away with the ban on the activities in the religious sphere, which released activities of religious societies, of the Churches, which did away with various state consents, with the activity of the church officials. They were the steps that did away, in fact, with the National Front, and which equalized the positions of all political subjects. These were steps which were aimed at purification of our legal order in the criminal sphere—from the criminal acts that punished misdemeanours which we called crimes against the Republic. They were the steps that brought a certain humanitarian change into our activity. You know that at that time we proposed to do away with the capital punishment and other such steps. At the same time, these were steps which in fact, created the possibilities for future free elections—the entire set of instruments we needed for it. Free elections into the central organs took place; in the second half of the year, local elections were held. We can thus note today that this obligation of the executive to set up the entire structure of the highest organs of power on the basis of free elections was fulfilled.

I consider this fact to be of exceptional importance, mainly because all bodies that function today are legitimate bodies, and because no doubt can be cast on their position, because our people had a chance to voice their view on these bodies. The reason I think it important is also because, unlike the experience of neighboring states, our people's turnout in these elections was massive. They showed interest and there was harmony between the citizens and political representations that emerged from these elections. There is yet another reason this was important. The point is that the accomplishment of these elections broke up the existing power structures. Although we cannot be 100 percent happy with the situation in this sphere, the old power structures, the old power-state-political groupings and connections, were broken. I think that this constitutes a truly qualitative change in Czechoslovakia's image in the state and political sphere.

The second task the Federal Government set for itself, was a task to show the world somehow that a new Czechoslovakia of new qualitative nature exists, that it ended a certain stage of its development, that it is beginning to develop in a different and new way. In other words, the task was to present this new Czechoslovakia to the world, to announce that it exists, that it is full of life, that it is Czechoslovakia interested in getting itself involved in all organizations which function in Europe and in the world on democratic basis. This is why we had had a series of foreign trips. They were executed by the president of the Republic, by me, by the members of Federal Government, and in particular by the foreign minister and deputy prime minister.

I think that we managed to reach this objective and that Czechoslovakia is only now beginning to reap a very considerable profit from presenting itself to the world. I will outline later the spheres which this concerns. Czechoslovakia also expressed its interest in European Communities. We concluded an agreement on trade relations with the European Communities and expressed our interest in becoming an integral part of Europe and European Communities first through association and later as a full member, if we meet all the conditions specified by the European Communities.

Thus, the world has learned that Czechoslovakia exists. The world has learned that representatives with specific philosophy exist here. The world has learned that fundamental qualitative changes have started in Czechoslovakia and that Czechoslovakia is embarking on the next stage of its development.

The third sphere consists of understanding the philosophy of the economic development of Czechoslovakia. In the first stage the Federal Government was busy mapping out the position of Czechoslovakia and what the economy of Czechoslovakia was. Believe me, the work was not easy. The system that had been introduced forced all the economic subjects and, in the long run, even the state organs, to behave in such a way as to conceal its possibilities and reserves. That is why the

data that was available was not that with which the government could work and which would provide a picture of the Czechoslovak economic situation. The government took almost a half year to find out the objective economic situation in Czechoslovakia, in other words, to find out what the illness was. Only then was it possible to seek therapy. The first half year was marked by this search and, at the same time, a search for a medicine. The government was seeking some kind of a consistent view on further possible economic development. This view was stabilized in the form of working out a scenario for the economic reform. In the beginning of the second half year, the government submitted this to the Federal Assembly for assessment. The Federal government then identified with it. After that, elections took place. The new government was formed on a coalition basis.

If I assess the first stage of the work of the government up to the elections, I must say that it was characterized by being more compact. It had a more comprehensive assessment of the matter. All the questions of politics and political assessment of these problems were set aside. It was characterized by a unified effort to find an objective solution to the given problem for the Federal Government following the elections. Naturally, inasmuch as our people expressed in the elections trust in various political groupings, political parties, and civic movements with varied degrees of intensity, this was then reflected in the position of these movements, in their policy, and in their activities in the Federal Government. The Federal Government is a coalition of Civic Forum [OF], Public Against Violence [VPN], and Slovak Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. You know how it is composed. We do not need to talk about it here.

In the second half year the government began to show in its activity certain features expressing political programs of these movements while solving certain problems of its own. Simply, government members accent certain things in the Federal Government much more readily than had been the case from the point of view of the political program of those political groupings which they represent in the government. It is seen most in the KDH, which much more readily than any other member of the government stresses the ethical side, the moral depth of solving problems. They fight with much greater intensity in regard to those phenomena in our lives which we would term immoral or unethical—be it in our press, in the communications media, or in the behavior of the people. I refer to pornography, to gutter press inclinations on certain things, and so on.

This feature, in my opinion, will continue in the activity of the government. I do not doubt that it will increase because, in the past few months, various political formations have reacted to the developments in Czechoslovakia. They have reacted to the possible economic development and so on. They react politically rather than objectively and economically. The Federal Government has solved, in the second half year, two large problems. The first is the individual steps for the economic reform,

whether in the form of the government decision or in the form of bills the government has submitted for assessment to the Federal Assembly. The Federal Government, as you know, is discussing these matters very seriously.

I think that, because of the way we did things, it is realistically possible to start the economic reform on 1 January. Special organizational and legal conditions have been created for this. In the beginning of next year—and here I should like to give initial information that it will take place between Christmas and the New Year—our enterprise and business sphere will receive a comprehensive package of information that will take the form of a large-scale meeting between the representatives of this sphere and government members. It will be a comprehensive package of information about enterprise conditions next year.

The next package of problems faced by the Federal Government was the tabling of the issues concerning the change in the powers held by the federation and the republics. In our media we witnessed this process, which commenced with the tabling of these problems immediately after Federal Government approved the transfer of powers in the sphere of machine-building and electrical engineering industries. This happened in July this year. It actually ended only a few days ago in the Federal Assembly. Only one stage has ended, because the problem of media remains open. In the end, very intensive work on new constitutions—on the constitutions of the federation and both republics—will start undoubtedly at the beginning of the new year.

The starting position of the Federal Government in the new year is that that we will begin to implement individual steps of the reform. The Federal Government seeks a new approach to its activity, proceeding from the Constitution, in its conceptual and strategic efforts, as well as in its efforts to link Czechoslovakia with the economic environment which surrounds our state and with the world economic environment. Thus, the Federal Government must learn not to do what it has been doing to now, when it had direct control over some whole production spheres. The republics must learn that this whole package contains not only powers, but a package of enormous responsibility that is being shifted to republican governments. The activities of the Federal Government and those of republican governments will be separated. These activities should not clash. While these activities should be separate and individual, their sum total should create a kind of a comprehensive entity. This is also a period when unified financial management comes to an end. This change is of such importance that we are probably not aware of its importance yet. We will become aware of it as time goes by. A period is starting now when governments do not have the chance to intervene into each other's powers. The governments are truly and fully responsible to their legislative corps.

In this connection, I would like to mention yet another finding from the change in the functioning of the concept

of the work of executive bodies, which constitutes a far better link between this activity and between representatives of business spheres and between representatives of our employees and our work force. The government has found mechanisms known in the world as tripartite agreements, as councils of economic and social cooperation. Thus, we have separated the sphere of state executive power. We have separated the employers' sphere, and we have separated the employees' sphere. These spheres meet outside the government soil. They meet on the so called tripartite soil; in other words, on the soil that is common and well-known in the world. We simply stopped mixing these systems. Each of them now represents its own line. They meet only where it is stipulated by the legal code and preceding agreement.

I would like to conclude the first part of my opening speech on describing the government's work this year with the general observation that I think that the work of the government has its inner dynamism, that the work of the government has markedly advanced the development in Czechoslovakia in all spheres in the direction which we set for ourselves. From this direction we have not deviated. I think that substantial qualitative changes have occurred in Czechoslovakia. Over one year we were able to secure and assert these changes. There are some voices saying that we should have proceeded faster. There are even voices saying that we are proceeding too fast, that we should have taken a more cautious approach. I personally think that we have objectively proceeded at a pace which was possible regarding the political, economic, and foreign political situation.

As to external influences, Czechoslovakia developed in 1990 in the situation when perhaps not *de jure*, but *de facto*, there was disintegration of the formation which called itself CEMA; when, in fact, our second biggest trade partner—the GDR—vanished; and when, in fact, the external environment changed, above all, under the influence of embargoes and the situation in the Persian Gulf. Not a single one of these changes can be characterized as positive. They are all negative. Much has been written about it. I do not want to revert to it, but I want to let it be known that this is the environment in which Czechoslovakia is finding itself, not to mention Warsaw Pact matters. We all know about this.

The Federal Government, as well as the republican governments, are entering the period when it will be necessary in actual steps—as regards the activity of the government and as regards the activity of the entrepreneurial sphere, as well as the entire set of appropriate institutions which have not been born yet and which will be born next year—to have mutual understanding, mutual unity, and mutual accord. Agreement will be needed to say that we truly want to follow the path which we set for ourselves. We are stressing this unity, above all, because recently certain possible changes in the understanding are being felt which in their final consequences could lead to conflict whose final results would be unforeseeable. I want to stress strongly the need for the existence in this state of social rapprochement; in

other words, mutual understanding of all the three components of executive power, representative organs, as well as the entire sphere of enterprises, whether represented by the entrepreneurs or employees. We need to say that Czechoslovakia has entered a certain situation and that we are all exerting good efforts to lead it out of this difficult situation at the expense of exceptionally complicated steps, even at the expense of temporary impacts, possibly even negative impacts, on the entrepreneurial sphere and, in long run, even on the living standards of our people. I consider this an absolutely key matter on the basis of which we can withstand this development, but we can also extend it. I am frightened by the idea that this development could even be halted in some directions.

The liberalization of prices will commence as of 1 January. This liberalization means, in its first stage—please, forgive me for saying that the liberalization is not 100 percent—that some basic entries will remain under state control. The first stage of this liberalization of prices, several weeks or several months, will evidently mean price increases, considerable price increases. We think that this is indeed a question of weeks and months, because the price increases must be kept under control by the government, cost what it may. That is the key task of the government.

The second element is liberalization of foreign trade. Czechoslovakia is entering on 1 January an exceptionally liberal environment as to the movement of subjects both from Czechoslovakia to the outside economic environment, as well as the other way around. Czechoslovakia has promised the IMF that it will regulate this movement only by those instruments which are generally known—that is, basically export licenses and some financial instruments as to imports—in the first stage in the form of import duties.

Third, as of 1 January, Czechoslovakia is entering a period in which it wants to hold under control the development of wages. Liberalization of prices and uncontrolled liberalization of the development of wages at the same time would have no meaning. On the contrary, the control of the development of wages, in the view of the economic team in the government, can keep development of prices under control because it will cause tremendous pressure on the level of prices. This is one of the key instruments at our disposal.

Fourth, and this was reflected in the composition of the state budget the Federal Government adopted after several amendments, there is a truly restrictive, limiting financial policy of the state. In other words, the state will truly keep under control the amount of money that will be in our economy. It will not permit this amount to increase over and above the level that would jeopardize the development of the economic reform.

This will not be a simple task, because it constitutes abolition of other subsidies. It will not be an easy task, because it will constitute refusals, very strict refusals, of

claims on state budget by the cost accounting sphere. As far as the state budget is concerned, the Federal Government is able to make changes only within the framework of this state budget. This means that it is possible to find different solutions within each of its items—and we do not denounce them—but only under the assumption that the overall proportion between this item and the state budget is preserved. Thus, changes are possible only within the item; in other words, if we give funds to some we must take them away from others. No other changes are possible. In addition, according to the composition of the state budget, the federation has at its disposal only the means which were simply handed to it by the republics per their mutual agreement. The federation's state budget cannot draw any other funds. Therefore, every other item which may materialize should be handled only by the republican budgets.

This is a change of our philosophy, and we are not quite aware of it. Yesterday at the session of the Federal Government, we had a clear example of this way of thinking when new problems were presented. As an example I can cite the costs on refugees. Simply, all these newly developing claims on state budgets can be only handled by the republican state budgets, because the federal budget is, in fact, a closed budget. There is no chance to expand it.

As far as next year's conditions are concerned, as the last item I would like to speak about specific social spheres. Many scenarios were presented which worry us, as well as many prognoses which proceed from reality. The fact is, unemployment does exist in Czechoslovakia at present. It amounts to approximately 0.5 percent of the work force. This unemployment is rising. The biggest unemployment is in North Moravia and East Slovakia. As far as unemployment is concerned, the Federal Government's estimate for next year is roughly four to five percent of the work force. I stress that I am using the word estimate because, as I said, we are surrounded by an environment that contains many unknown factors in terms of development. While I do not wish to speak in particular about the Soviet Union, professional economists say that the affect of unemployment as an economic category can be felt when the unemployment level reaches three percent of the working age population. In our assessment, unemployment will become an economic category next year which will affect the progress of economic processes. We think that we are aiming in the right direction.

In the last six months the Federal Government has drafted several documents which should tackle this situation. This will be tackled at the republican level, too, where decisions in this respect will also be made. These documents proceed from the concept of building a social safety network both in terms of institutions as well as in terms of drafting retraining programs and allocating funds for all these processes.

I must make the following observation: This is a phenomenon which is new in Czechoslovakia and which has

not been encountered by two generations of our people. It is a phenomenon of exceptional gravity, and not just in terms of welfare. It is exceptionally grave also in social terms, because a man who has no job is not threatened only from the viewpoint of his welfare. He is, in fact, threatened from the social viewpoint. I do not care about the few people, several dozens, to whom this does not matter. I want to speak about those who are concerned. We feel that we must do everything, especially in cooperation with other social partners, in order to keep this situation under control in all cases.

If I wanted to characterize it at least partly, from the point of view of the Federal Government, this is a year which, essentially, will be absolutely of key significance—economically, socially, and politically—with regard to the economic reform. It will be the year in which pressure will be exerted on the executive organs. It will be the year in which pressure on the entire entrepreneurial sphere will be exerted. It will be the year in which ownership relations will start changing in a fundamental way; in which understanding of civic freedom will change, in that the citizens will have a much better chance to look after themselves. As far as this is concerned, the state will not be involved. It will be a time which will be important for our further development. The Federal Government thinks that we know what has to be done so that this development proceeds in this direction. We have enough resoluteness to adopt measures for its regulation, and we have sufficient resoluteness to withstand the pressures that will want to lead us astray on the path of radical economic reform. We are not making a patent for absolute truth and reason. We are a group of people—seventeen of us in the government—who are facing the solution of completely new tasks. I can say that we will make mistakes in our decisions. What is involved are the possible results of these mistakes and how we are going to face up to our own mistakes. So far we have always faced them head on. If necessary we have re-assessed the situation. We should recognize mistakes, learn from them, make conclusions from them, and correct the situation. This is also our philosophy for the future.

Thank you for your attention.

[Announcer] Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. We will now take questions. There is one from NARODNA OBRODA.

[NARODNA OBRODA reporter, in Slovak] [Words indistinct] when you speak about next year's expected fall in production, unemployment, inflation and such things, [words indistinct] next year what would be considered a (?success) [words indistinct].

[Calfa, in Slovak] I can say clearly that recently the government made a mistake and did not hesitate to admit it as regards, the labor code and the participation of the trade unions and workers—the trade unions as the representatives of the workers—in management. The Federal Government drew a conclusion which was at

variance with the conclusion of the tripartite commission in which government representatives are involved. Basically, the mistake was made in a situation of a certain degree of emotional understanding of this question. We were able to note that we made a mistake in this. We were able to tell the Federal Assembly that, in this respect, the standpoint of the Federal Government was being changed. The Federal Assembly then naturally—since it is the supreme legislature—made the definitive decision on this matter. That is an example of the situation we were in.

As for our idea for next year, we have certain limits. These limits are not only internal ones as regards our development. You know very well that we are working together with the IMF and the World Bank. We have become new members once again of the IMF and the World Bank. The IMF proceeds from a given situation, from certain steps taken by the Federal Government, and it will review these steps or the Federal Government's concept every three months. The Federal Government truly has limits. I have already spoken partially about these in percentage terms as regards the development of our economy, but there is one figure I did not give, that of inflation, and we would be glad if it did not exceed 25 to 30 percent next year. That is another limit. The Federal Government will consider that development successful if it maintains development within those limits. The Federal Government will consider it a success if we complete the small privatization during the course of next year, as we have resolved, and we would be glad if, at the end of 1991, we can say that this sphere has been settled definitively in terms of ownership. The Federal Government would consider it a success if the so-called large privatization gives rise to a change in the orientation of our enterprises as far as markets and their production programs are concerned. I do not want to express it in percentage terms. For us it would be a success if every sector, every sphere, gave rise to some sort of exemplary island of this new development which we would latch on to as an island where we could gain experience, which would set an example for us, which would give us some sort of idea about how we should proceed further. Finally, and this is something which always needs to be said, the government would be very pleased if, at the end of next year, it could note that it maintained development under control in such a way that the figures envisaged in our state budgets are actually realized.

[Announcer] Thank you. Now a question from Mr. Martinek of Czechoslovak Television.

[Martinek] I would like to return to matters associated with the state budget. How does the Federal Government intend to ensure that the revenue component of the state budget is realized next year when a number of steps it has taken lead to a situation which will result in the insolvency of a number of large enterprises? We all know that the state budget funds are generated to a decisive extent by the levies paid by these large enterprises. That is the first question. The second is this: You said that the

Federal Government is seeking a new position or status for itself in the federation. Does this mean that there will be some sort of reduction in, for example, the number of Federal government posts next year?

[Calfa, in Slovak] Of course, the federal budget expenditure depends on the federal budget revenue. The federal budget revenue comes from three sources: The first source of revenue is sales tax. There it has been agreed that this will apply to the whole production sphere, that it will all go to one pool, and that it will then be divided up between the federation and the republics according to the well-known formula 35:40:25. In this connection, I wish to note that any decision—this has arisen in connection with book publishing—to alter the revenue of this component to the benefit of any particular lobby means not only cuts in the federation and its expenditure, but also cuts in the expenditure of the republics in the ratio 40:25.

The next source of revenue is levies from profits, and the third source of revenue is the incomes of the federal agencies arising out of their activities. These are laid down in law. They are customs duties and so forth. We know to what we refer. The whole economic reform and the whole philosophy of that economic reform is aimed at increasing the activity of the enterprises and altering their structure. The philosophy of this government is not to stifle or phase out the activity of enterprises. To stifle and phase out that business activity which is uneconomic, which produces losses, and which demands subsidies from the state budget—that is the kind of activity we do not want. We will not support it. We have an exceptional interest in phasing out that kind of activity.

On the other hand, through its lending policy and, I must say, partly through its policy on subsidies and foreign trade, the Federal Government will support businesses which are successful. Our philosophy is very straightforward, just as the rules of the economic game are very straightforward. We must stop taking funds from the successful and giving them to the unsuccessful. That means that the successful will live off their own resources and the unsuccessful will not. By saying we cannot count on revenue means that we cannot count on revenue that we would then have to pay out to the unsuccessful. The federal budget does not need this kind of revenue. That is why the whole level of the federal budget is decreasing. Much less money is going through the federal budget, because the level of these taxes and levies has decreased. The money is staying in the production sphere to be used there. That is the position from which the situation has to be seen.

As for the future of the Federal Government, talks and consultations are currently under way in two directions. For the first time we are handing over power to the republics. I have issued an instruction for all the members of the Federal Government to liaise with their counterparts in the republics and agree with them on a specific course of action. According to the information given yesterday at the Federal Government session, the

key sectors have agreed on the transfer of all matters to the republics by 15 February, in agreement with the republics. I would be very glad if the whole area of subsidies and allocations from the federal budget is resolved at the federal level by that date, so that we would not have to witness a situation in which enterprises next year in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic use the argument that their financial situation is worsening because someone owes it something out of the federal Budget. The republican prime ministers and I are in agreement on the fact that this situation must be definitively and clearly resolved. The federation undertakes that all the funds due to these organizations from the federal budget in 1990 in the form of grants, subsidies, and payments will, indeed, go to them. We will truly begin with a clean slate, and a new relationship with the republican budgets will truly begin. That is one thing.

As far as the Federal Government itself is concerned, we expect the number of ministries to decrease, but not, if I may say, in the sense that we will begin to drop something or completely abolish it. Our philosophy is that the number of ministries will indeed decrease, but the main task lies in the simple fact that their manpower will decrease. These ministries will become small, very flexible, and professionally expert units. They will be leaner and their bureaucratic structures will be demolished. We have our limits in the budget of the federation. That has been approved. We simply will not have adequate money for them to operate to the extent that they have done this year. On this there is nothing to ponder—their numbers will go down. Personally, I feel that the Ministry of Foreign Trade ought to be retained, but not in its present form—possibly as a ministry of external economic relations in a much smaller form than it currently exists. I also feel that the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Communications ought to be retained in a much smaller form than at present. Discussions are under way in regard to the Ministry for Strategic Planning light of the fact that the Federal Assembly has not yet approved the bill on strategic planning, although the Federal Government will carry out strategic planning activity because that is an inherent activity of any strategic thinking about the economy. I think that the activity of the Ministry of the Economy also ought to be retained. From time to time we come across the kind of phenomenon whereby various considerations are passed to us about how the federal agencies ought to be constituted at republican level in light of the philosophy that the republican level has become detached from the federal level. We are continuing in this philosophy in that the federal level will decide for itself what kind of system of federal agencies it should have in order to carry out the functions of the federation. In that respect, it will be answerable to the Federal Assembly and to no one else.

[Sestak] Sestak, from Czechoslovak Radio. A year ago you said that the government was convinced that the biggest resource for further development of our economy would be the qualities of our people, their creative fantasy, their spirit of entrepreneurship, and their

intrinsic need to work. My feeling is—and I do not target it at individuals, of course, but in the general context—that these qualities have begun to disappear a bit. I mean that a lack of people's discipline or responsibility is sometimes emerging. What do you think is the cause of this situation?

[Calfa, in Slovak] It depends which sphere you are speaking about. I do not think it is as you described it. I think that, on the contrary, in the sphere of entrepreneurship an enormous number of extraordinarily deft, extraordinarily competent people are emerging who have an entrepreneurial attitude which is healthily aggressive. They are keen, are courageous, and put these qualities into practice.

In the course of this year I toured many enterprises. Although I cannot say for all of them, I am able to say that for the majority of them I really found the management to be such a group of people. There were enterprises where a director literally told me that our idea of economic reform sent shivers down his spine. nevertheless, I immediately simply told him: Mr. Director, if this economic idea sends shivers down your spine, then you simply cannot do your job. No offense, but simply it has to be done by somebody who is not scared of it and who really cares.

Therefore, I do not have the same experience as you have as far as the entrepreneurship sphere is concerned.

No doubt, the biggest problem is the structure of state bodies, above all, the one of central bodies. There are still many people there who essentially have neither any idea what is being prepared nor any idea what to do with it. Simply, these people are unable to do the kind of work we need them for in the further process and will have to find work in some other sphere.

Nevertheless, as far as the quality of our people, as far as their competence, creativity, and ability to implement ideas are concerned, I am an extraordinary optimist.

[Reporter] [Name indistinct] from Hungarian Radio. A discussion on the Gabčíkovo hydroproject has been going on for some time. The Slovak Government would like it to be under its jurisdiction. However, the Hungarian Government signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia and not with Slovakia. When and how will the decision be made as to under which jurisdiction it should belong and as to the future fate of this hydroproject? The second question is: Recently there was talk about your trip to Hungary. This visit did not take place. When do you plan this trip? Thank you

[Calfa, in Slovak] You might have perhaps noted a report in our media that the Federal Government dealt with the Gabčíkovo Nagymaros yesterday at its session and that it adopted a decision, the essence of which is that the talks with the Hungarian side will be resumed. The Czechoslovak delegation—and I underline the word Czechoslovak—will be led by the Slovak prime minister. This is not a Slovak-Hungarian matter; this is a

Czechoslovak-Hungarian matter. We authorized these talks by Slovak Prime Minister Meciar, just like we authorized the former Slovak prime minister in the first six months. We have also asked the foreign minister to arrange the resumption of these talks with the Hungarian side. We do not refuse discussions on any topic. We instructed Prime Minister Meciar, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, to submit to the Federal Government a detailed directive for these talks. Thus, the Federal Government will approve a directive for these talks. We wish to maintain these talks on a truly Czechoslovak-Hungarian level.

However, from 1 January next year, power engineering and all similar matters are being transferred to republican jurisdiction. The financing of all power engineering projects, including the project which is partially located on both the Slovak and Hungarian territory, will be financed by the Slovak Government from Slovak funds. All this is what we are facing. That is all for this question.

As for my visit, well, I was ready for this visit. This visit was cancelled by the Hungarian side due to Prime Minister Antall's illness. You might recall that he was quite seriously ill for several weeks. He has already recovered. We keep in touch with the Hungarian Government. I spoke several times to Prime Minister Antall on several occasions, the last time in Paris when we attended the CSCE conference. This was reported. The Hungarian ambassador arranged this visit. I think that it will take place in January at the latest.

[(?Javisova), in Slovak] (?Javisova), from ROLNICE NOVINY. How does the Federal Government intend to exercise its influence to have enough reasonably priced food on our market. What are the ideas about further development of agriculture production and entire sphere of agriculture next year? It is known that every shortcoming in food supply has a harsh effect on the political sphere. Thank you.

[Calfa, in Slovak] The Federal Government is able to enter this sphere only to the extent allowed by its range of powers. It is necessary to realize this.

Food production is within the powers of the republics. Therefore, it is where the question should be addressed above all. The Federal Government can influence the transfer of food to and from Czechoslovakia. As I already said, regarding exports we have the possibility to set up licenses, request export licenses. We do use this possibility. As far as imports are concerned, we can regulate this through import levies.

In fact, the Federal Government has no possibility of regulating the movement of food within Czechoslovakia in any way. It is really a matter for the government of the republics.

The development of agriculture is an extraordinary complicated matter. We are aware of its impact on all of us. I would like to say one thing: The Federal Government thinks that as far as the entire sphere of agriculture

is concerned, there is a need to create the conditions which will allow all the forms of management chosen by the subjects to play in the sphere of agriculture and [word indistinct] production.

That is why the Federal Government approved its own bill on land management and will put it forward to the Federal Assembly, as it does not agree with the bill which was put forward by a group of Federal Assembly deputies, because this bill eliminated one of the possible forms which proved itself right in Czechoslovakia and which simply brings results, that is, agricultural cooperatives. [sentence as heard] Therefore, our task is to create such laws which provide equal conditions for all those who want to be involved in farming.

I want to say one more thing. Agricultural subsidies amount 8 billion kopeks. My personal view is that subsidies for this sphere are necessary and that the state has to regulate this sphere in a certain way, including this form of a regulation.

As far as intervention in agriculture sphere is concerned, what I said is, of course, valid here. The federation has its instruments, such as sales tax, levies on profits, as well as the possibility of some legal regulations. That is all. The federation does not have any more instruments.

[Announcer] Thank you. The last question please, from RUDE PRAVO.

[Reporter] I am [name indistinct] from RUDE PRAVO. I would like to ask this: According to my information, we need roughly \$2 to 3 billion in a bridging loan for (? further) economic reforms. So far, we know about \$2 billion which we can acquire. Where can we acquire the third billion? How far are we able to repay these credits and when?

[Calfa, in Slovak] I must say that talks are under way at many levels and they are far from complete. At present talks are in progress with some Arab states. At the beginning of next year talks will take place with certain Southeast Asian states. Talks with West [as heard] Germany are not complete. As you know, I have asked them for a loan of 1 billion marks. Czechoslovakia is optimistic about these possibilities. We believe that it is possible to get together the sum we need shortly. It is here that we see what I have already spoken about—the painstaking work in the first six months in order to project Czechoslovakia to the outside world. It is here that we now see—as far as the attitude of different states and their assessment of developments in Czechoslovakia and its potential are concerned—the result of those efforts. Recently we have been seeing a positive assessment of our economic potential and its future development. I must tell you that in the overwhelming majority of cases this assessment is more positive than the one we ourselves are making. This is a very interesting trait—Czechoslovakia has a tendency to make a much worse assessment of itself than the rest of the world. I personally think that these funds will become available.

As for the possibility of repaying them, naturally they are granted under certain conditions. These conditions are not unfavorable. They are better than the usual world conditions. They are a necessary prerequisite for us to change the quality and performance of our economy, so this change in the quality and performance of our economy thanks to this financial injection must, in the future, bear fruit in the form of returns from which we will then be able to make the repayments. I do not doubt that the practice in the rest of the world also allows for the possibility of rescheduling, barter payments, and so on and so forth. There is an enormous range of instruments open to us, but in the situation we find ourselves in, without this kind of backing we cannot carry out the economic reform measures, so this is a vital necessity to enable us to transform our economy, transform it fundamentally, qualitatively, and lastingly, and not allow this money to simply disappear.

Today I read a statement by Polish Minister Kuron who said that there is a tendency to think that the loans and money which were provided were embezzled. No, he says, we ate that money; it came and it disappeared. That is a great lesson for us—to make sure that the money that comes in does not disappear in that way, that it is invested in such a way [six second loss of signal] produce more money and that is the source from which we would subsequently make the repayments.

[Announcer] Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. Ladies and gentlemen, our time is up. Merry Christmas, and goodbye.

Ministers Answer Personal, Professional Questions LD2312054490

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1505 GMT on 22 December carries a 54-minute scheduled live roundtable discussion with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, and Economic Affairs Minister Vladimir Dlouhy. Questions, some of which had been phoned in by listeners, were asked by editors Barbora Tacheci and Oldrich Sestak. All speak in Czech, except for Calfa, who speaks Slovak.

After introductions, the editors stress that the questions will be primarily atypical personal questions rather than the usual questions on professional responsibilities. The guests are first asked about how they celebrate Christmas.

Asked for a personal view of the government's work this year, Calfa says it was successful in starting solutions to economic problems. Klaus says it was successful. Dlouhy says it was a process of trial and error, and that they managed to cope with very much more difficult conditions than had been known before.

Asked what their biggest mistake was in the past year, Dlouhy says he would have liked to have achieved greater changes in his ministry. Klaus does not think there was any fundamental error in the handling of the

economy. The editor notes that Calfa admitted his mistake with the Labor Code in a 21 December news conference.

Many listeners' questions are about supplies of food-stuffs, a shortage of eggs, oil, and so on. Dlouhy explains why there is a shortage of eggs, saying this was predicted back in November. On supplies of goods other than food, Klaus says that he has not noted any major shortages, except for eggs. Dlouhy notes the problem of speculation prior to price deregulation in January. Calfa thinks it is a mistake for people to withdraw their savings and buy consumer durables, because next year they may regret it. Klaus says that despite people withdrawing savings, the country's currency position is still in surplus, so rumors that it is bankrupt are not true.

The ministers are asked for their views about economist Professor Zeleny's economic theories. Then they are asked about the emergence of a Liberal Club in Civic Forum [OF]. Dlouhy says he did not sign up, although he commends the views of Petr Uhl. Calfa says the Public Against Violence [VPN] reaction will come at its congress scheduled for February.

On prospects for the supply of medicines from abroad, Calfa says the situation will get worse next year.

One upset listener wonders whether the ministers and their families will feel the pinch of price liberalization and price increases. Klaus and Calfa say their pay is not as high as people think, and that they will feel the pinch, too.

Dlouhy is then asked about gasoline supplies. He recalls that Deputy Prime Minister Vales signed an agreement earlier this week for the import of oil from the USSR, which will meet the country's minimum needs. He does not foresee shortages.

Asked if it risky to hold down the post of finance minister and OF chairman, Klaus says that there must be political support for economic reforms, so it has not presented any excessive extra workload.

A succession of listeners have no questions, but wish all the ministers a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. The ministers thank them, reciprocate the good wishes, and give thanks for letters of support and even presents they have received.

It is then noted that MLADA FRONTA DNES reported that after the 20 December government session, Calfa urged all the ministers to leave Prague and enjoy their Christmas. Asked if this is true, Calfa says it is, and stresses the importance of a Christmas break to recharge one's intellectual and emotional batteries. The ministers briefly say how and where they intend to spend Christmas, but that they will be back immediately after Christmas. The ministers then ask the radio editors what they will be doing. Breaking open a bottle of champagne,

the ministers are asked to convey brief good wishes for the new year, and they drink a toast. The editors thank the guests.

The program is interspersed with and ends with traditional and modern Christmas songs.

Changes in Customs Law; More Offices, Guards

*AU2112173890 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT
19 Dec 90*

[Text] Prague Dec 19 (CTK)—All customs branch offices at road, railway, and air border crossings will be empowered to collect customs duties from January 1, 1991, under an amended customs law that comes into effect on February 1.

Another measure, provided for by the law, passed on December 5, is the formation of customs guards to prevent smuggling, after Czechoslovakia opened its borders.

Commenting on the amended law today, General Director of the Central Customs Administration Jiri Hronovsky stated that the customs guard will consist of 4,300 persons entitled to search for goods that escaped customs control at the borders.

The law facilitates foreign trade activities of Czechoslovak citizens. While only 472 enterprises were entitled to conduct foreign trade activities last year, this there are 1,600 and next year this number, involving private businessmen, is expected to rise to 6,000. At present there are 32 customs offices in this country.

Communists Win Elections in Major Industrial City

AU2312203590

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech on 18 December on page 1 carries a 400-word Petr Novacek commentary entitled "Only Havirov Red?" The commentary deals with the local elections that were held in 24 communities of the Czech Republic on 15 December. Most communities in which the elections were held were small villages, with Havirov—an industrial city of 100,000 people in North Moravia—being the only exception. According to Novacek, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia emerged as the strongest party in the city. It won 13 seats in the 50-member city council, followed by the Civic Forum [OF] with 11 seats. A total of 12 parties competed in the Havirov elections. Novacek attributes the large number of communist votes in Havirov to the low voter turnout (43.9 percent) and to the discipline of traditional communist voters as well as the fear of the repercussions of the market economy among the city's work force (consisting mostly of miners and steel workers).

Klaus Explains Abbreviated Olomouc Speech

*AU2312185690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 17 Dec 90 pp 1,2*

[Interview with Vaclav Klaus, Civic Forum [OF] Chairman and CSFR minister of finance, by LIDOVE NOVINY correspondents Jana Smidova and Jaroslav Veis; place and date not given: "World According to Klaus"—first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY Introduction]

[Text] Vaclav Klaus' speech at the working consultation of the Civic Forum [OF] representatives in Olomouc not only set the character of the meeting but it also determined further development of this political power. LIDOVE NOVINY asked Vaclav Klaus:

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Your Olomouc speech was published in OBCANSKY DENIK in an abbreviated version, yet, the printed version contained all its substantial elements except for one, which we believe to be very important. It was this passage: "I believe that we must be very careful in preserving contacts with artists and intellectuals in general. It is obvious that in these two groups, there naturally appears logically and historically great inclinations toward the left; inventiveness, and toward efforts at not being bound by anything, be it bonds of ideology or of organization." OBCANSKY DENIK objected to the idea that you or one of you advisers might have taken part in abbreviating the text. Can you comment on that?

[Klaus] I finished and a record of my speech was made. It was unpolished, with pauses, and with some words repeated. It was an image of my speaking style. Editor in Chief Stanek told me that for publication it would have to be shortened by approximately one-third. Without batting an eye, I replied: So do it. It is useless to seek here something more profound.

I do not wish to influence things like that. Look, just now, when the situation is coming to a head, for the first time the television does not come to the OF briefing.... Most likely, that is not an accident. If the thought occurred to me that they might not come, I might have tried to affect things. It is just that I do not think of using such weapons. But ask me positively what I meant by this statement.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] So, what did you mean by that passage?

[Klaus] Truly that what I said: We endeavor to preserve the contacts with artists and intellectuals in general. It is a group that influences public opinion and, therefore, I consider it to be very important. It is also the reason why I met with some just a day prior to the Olomouc meeting. However, you are probably more interested in an assessment of what I said later regarding their inclination toward the left, toward a certain organizational and ideological libertinism, toward an inventiveness. I believe that it is empirically demonstrated and that it is

absolutely natural. It is something very foreign to my weltanschauung or way of thinking. After all, it was a fashion for 20th-century intellectuals to stand on the left; it was a world-wide, European, and our fashion. It was valid in the 1920s and 1930s, after the war as well as in the 1960's, and remainders of this orientation survive. We would have to get deeper in the analysis in order to establish whether the leftist tendency, the inventiveness, or the libertinism is the most significant feature. I believe that I have no reason to alter anything in my opinion.

I, myself, must be more of an intellectual than anything else. However, if there is anything really alien to me then it is intellectualism. I always emphasize, and never hide that I might be oversensitive to it. No doubt, that in this respect I will concur with a number of conservative streams in modern thought, which have the same view of the intellectual world.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] At the press conference in Olomouc, you said that today we do not really know what is left, what is right, and what is center.

[Klaus] No, I definitely did not say that. I know very well what is left and what is right, and I reject any concepts of a third road in politics. The third road certainly is just poetic license. It is a rejection of the standard political science just like the third road in the economy is the rejection of the standard economy. I object to any claim that the notions of center or left and right lost their meaning long ago, and I believe that they are absolutely clearly defined. I was saying that, in our marginally structured world, it is very difficult to employ these terms fully and without a great explanation, and it includes both the positively delimiting and the pejorative senses.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] So, you do not feel that it is dangerous to use these terms?

[Klaus] As you noticed, I use them very cautiously.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Then, the passage we discussed was one of the rare occasions when you did use it.

[Klaus] Yes. A reference to a leftist tendency really is a very gentle way of putting it, and I reserve the right to use this expression.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Let us go back to the Olomouc meeting. Someone even compared the present development in the OF with that of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1929, when Gottwald's wing, leaning on the district representatives and excluding the then communist intellectual elite, took over the party leadership.

[Klaus] I have never heard this and consider such comparisons to be rather dumb and absolutely irrelevant. Since it was brought up, I assume that you like this comparison. When you raise such a question, I am getting worried that we are both tuned to a different frequency.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you have an opinion regarding this question?

[Klaus] Yes. I feel that it is absurd, superfluous, and misleading. I have not studied the history of the labor movement in Czechoslovakia so, as opposed to you, I do not know the nuances of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress in 1929. Even though I can see that you studied it intensively and that it is a matter close to your hearts....

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What do you think of the newly constituted OF Liberal Club? Its statement was signed by many personalities with whom the OF entered the political stage. Do you consider it significant?

[Klaus] That is not true at all. I do not want to label things, but it was signed by Mrs. Korinkova and Mr. Nezval about whom I have never heard that they would have any relations with OF, it was signed by Mr. Lukes.... On the other hand, it was not signed by my fellow Minister Dlouhy, Ministers Dyba, Jezek, Moldan, and others; it was not signed by Jan Sokol either. Hence, I would not think in this manner. Then again, when I read it, I realized that among the signed OF Federal Assembly deputies there is not a single person of importance.

As regards the content of the statement, I said clearly that I do not comment on the fact that another parliamentary club is formed. If a group of OF deputies formed and has a reason to meet occasionally in a closed room to discuss their voting on individual bills, it is an absolutely legitimate occurrence. And so it would be if another part or all the remaining deputies met and formed an identical group. I am not commenting on that. That is not the problem.

Another matter altogether is whether it could be interpreted as an attempt at breaking OF's unity reaching beyond the parliament. In that sense, it would interest me as the OF chairman who inasmuch possible wants to preserve its unity. In my view, the only legitimate way out of this impasse are our assemblies and that includes the working assembly in Olomouc. We reached certain conclusions there, should contemplate them for a month and meet again on 12 January. After all, we did not agree in Olomouc to split OF in the meantime.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The other side claims, however, that it is the narrowing of the opinion platform which splits the movement.

[Klaus] I am convinced that theses formulated in Olomouc are broad enough to invalidate the claim of splitting OF. I believe that in this sense it would be impossible to compare my speech in Olomouc or the theses resulting from the meeting with the statement by the Liberal Club. This statement is very general, it says next to nothing. We might be able to interpret it by that which it does not say, which remains silent.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The Olomouc theses are to a large degree based on your speech. Is the present politics of the OF formed by anybody but you?

[Klaus] I would like to say one important thing. If we were to be a regular political power, then we would have to find a regular balance of short-term and long-term goals. I believe that our long-term attitude must be dominating. We have to leave enough room for those OF adherents who sit in the parliaments, governments, and elsewhere so they can play their part the way they know how, the way they are able, and the way they manage, without some political directives from somebody somewhere every day, without somebody leading them by hand. In this respect, one must understand the authorship of the OF politics. The opposite idea, namely of an individual, three-member directorate, 10-member politburo, or any entity which would define its politics is not in OF's style now and it will not be in the future either.

Klaus Eyes Media 'Campaign' on Forum Conclusions

LD2112114790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0300 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Vaclav Klaus, federal minister of finance and Civic Forum [OF] chairman, spoke yesterday about the current political situation in the state. In the Czech Television newscast, he pointed to the fact that the differentiation emerging in our whole society cannot bypass the OF, its biggest political force, either. He recalled the recent crucial OF meeting in Olomouc and noted that all would be well if a campaign against conclusions of this meeting was not unleashed in some media, if it was not only the supporters of minority views who get the platform in the media, and if doubts were not cast upon legitimacy of the participants of this meeting. Vaclav Klaus also emphasized that what is needed are deeds rather than words, that specific actions rather than gestures are needed, since the next important steps of the economic reform are imminent.

OF Leader Calls For Broadest Possible Unity

LD2112174890 Prague CTK in English 1528 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—Civic Forum [OF] Chairman Vaclav Klaus said today he wants the OF to retain broadest possible unity and would consider development of club activities outside parliament unfortunate.

There is the Liberal Group and the Interparliamentary Group of the Democratic Right Wing in the OF.

At a press conference Klaus considered the setting up of the Liberal Group a quite natural thing, in response to the existence of the right-wing Parliamentary Group.

Asked whether the OF would split into two political parties, Chairman of the Group of Civic Forum in the Federal Assembly Jan Sokol thought that the OF cannot split at least not until the next elections in 1992.

Referring to the question whether or not to publish the names of all agents of the former "StB" secret police, Sokol said he would be afraid of complete publication, adding that it was difficult to define the extent of guilt of the individual agents.

Klaus rejected accusations of slowing down economic reform, and said that its course was being verified from all sides, in particular on the part of foreign financial institutions.

Slovakia's Miklosko on Final Soviet Withdrawal

LD2212000590 Prague Television Service in Slovak
2147 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] I welcome here in the studio Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko who is going to say a few words in connection with an important event in the Slovak Republic.

[Miklosko] Dear fellow citizens and friends! Tomorrow, 22 December 1990, the last Soviet troops will leave Slovakia. It is noteworthy that Slovakia is the first country in Eastern Europe which tomorrow thus becomes, formally, a sovereign republic. This represents the end of an era for us. After difficult years, the normalization which began with the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 is thus coming to an end.

I will not presume to make an assessment of the period of normalization. The year 1968 was, in a way, prepared by the intellectuals, journalists, and artists, and it was that section of society which was then persecuted most for 22 years in all respects. That was one of the most difficult periods of intellectual stagnation and apathy which has ever existed in this state and nation, and the question is how long it will take us to get over its consequences.

Tomorrow the Soviet troops are going home. What should our inner feelings be as we take our leave of them? Anger, indifference, incredulity? I recall an incident from November last year which has remained deeply entrenched in my memory. An elderly lady came onto the rostrum in a square packed with several hundred thousand people in an unforgettable atmosphere. She was the mother of Danka Kosanova, who was shot by Soviet soldiers in August 1968. She did not make a grand speech; she simply said three words: We forgive you. Then the whole square repeated the same words in a whisper: We forgive you.

If I, the speaker of the Slovak parliament, wished to say something similar today, I would not dare to, neither would I have the right to say these words on behalf of those who suffered most. However, since they were spoken by the mother of the young girl who died for no reason on the steps of Comenius University, I silently respect these words as if they were an order.

Let me wind up with one observation. The 18 or 20-year-old lads who are leaving us tomorrow had nothing to do with the occupation in 1968; neither—fortunately—did they have anything to do with the political system or policy of the Soviet leaders of the time. They are going home to difficult conditions.

What do we want to say to them in farewell? Perhaps just that here in Slovakia we make a clear distinction between the Marxist ideology which has held sway in that country for seventy years and between the ordinary Russian man. We have parted company once and for all, we hope, with Marxist ideology, but we wish to keep up our friendly relations with the Russian people in the future too. Perhaps those could be our final words.

Last Soviet Unit Withdraws From Slovakia

*LD2212172390 Prague CTK in English 1419 GMT
22 Dec 90*

[Text] Roznava, East Slovakia, Dec 22 (CTK)—The last Soviet unit, an artillery regiment based at Roznava, left the territory of the Slovak Republic today. It is being moved to the Belorussian town of Slutsk.

Only several hundred Soviet officers and soldiers now remain in this eastern region forming about one-third of Czechoslovak territory.

This completes the second stage of the withdrawal of Soviet forces which have been stationed in Czechoslovakia since the August 1968 Soviet invasion. The rest of the troops is to be withdrawn by next June.

According to Miroslav Syrchra, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Parliamentary Commission overseeing the Soviet withdrawal, 54,450 Soviet soldiers and officers, i.e. 74 per cent of the troops, and 77 per cent of civilians have left Czechoslovak territory.

All launching equipment and antiaircraft defence equipment has been withdrawn, 40 per cent of aircraft, 36 percent of them combat aircraft and 28 per cent of tanks and helicopters are still to be pulled out. No major problems have been encountered except for some delays in the removal of ammunition from the largest ammunition dump in Europe at Kvetna u Policky in East Bohemia but the situation there also improves.

Talks continue on damages and an agreement is to be signed next January. The facilities at Roznava have been taken over by Czechoslovak troops and a Czechoslovak regiment is to be moved there.

Commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces Colonel-General Eduard Vorobyov has told CTK he believes "that relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will develop on the principles of friendship, mutual understanding and bilateral advantages".

Government Views Shevardnadze Resignation*LD2112123790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Gabor Bankuti report on government spokesman Balazs Laszlo's news conference in Budapest on 21 December]

[Excerpts] The resignation of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has aroused understandable concern and surprise in the Hungarian Government, spokesman Balazs Laszlo said at his morning briefing. He added: For lack of detailed information, there was no possibility of forming an opinion.

He commented on the decision of the Budapest metropolitan assembly concerning the Budapest-Vienna World Expo that the system of conditions regarding support is extensive and demanding. This will be dealt with in substance later.

At its session yesterday, the government discussed issues related to the fate of the Bos-Nagymaros dam. It established that the Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement on the dam system was an erroneous decision from both an environmental protection and an economic viewpoint, and for this reason it agrees with the decision of the previous government to suspend it. The minister of environmental protection and the government commissioner were authorized to conduct a thorough investigation of the proposals of the Czech and the Slovak organs and to hold talks with them on the basis of this. The government must be informed of the results by the end of June, and the government is preparing a report for parliament on the measures.

Gyorgy Samsondi-Kiss, government commissioner, stated that the government sought a solution with the Czech and Slovak Republics which would be exemplary also in that it did not turn an environmental protection issue into a nationality issue, and in that it interpreted nature protection in this manner. We are ready for flexible talks, and we should like to speed these up. The Czech and Slovak side had prepared five accurate versions on the matter of the Bos power station from the realization of the plans in an unaltered manner to its complete demolition. Thus, we wish to examine the combined environmental and material impact of all of them. For us, the protection of drinking water supplies is most important, the government commissioner said.

Soon, bids will be made on restoration of Nagymaros, including development of the Danube region. Navigation on the Danube could be resolved without the dam, too.

The other main topic of the Council of Ministers was the press law. The basic principles of press freedom will be included in the Constitution. The draft press law will free the launching of papers, but one owner will be able to have only one national paper. Mrs. (Szuek), nee Edit (Papacs), deputy government commissioner, said that journalists' personal rights had been increased in a

manner whereby their responsibility for the full respect of others' rights also increased. [passage omitted]

The government repealed its decision on winding up the uranium mine, and it praised the enterprise's work, meriting its survival. The industry minister will examine how uranium mining could be made more economical in a syndicate form. The aluminium industry trust will cease to exist. The enterprises will be given a possibility for independent development and for drawing in capital, but they will remain with majority Hungarian assets in the form of holdings.

Until a uniform law is adopted, the large enterprises' land tax and the tax paid by private persons for land use will remain in force.

Jeszensky Sees No Change in Relations*LD2112163390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister hopes that Eduard Shevardnadze, who was one of the initiators of the transformation in Eastern Europe, will withdraw his resignation. According to Geza Jeszenszky, the step taken by the head of Soviet foreign affairs is undoubtedly a warning of some kind, but it does not mean a change in Hungarian-Soviet relations, which continue to develop in the direction determined at the Paris summit meeting. Geza Jeszenszky ruled out the possibility that the personnel change in the leadership of Soviet foreign politics might influence the pace of Soviet troop withdrawals. The head of Hungarian diplomacy emphasizes: It would be most favorable if Shevardnadze were to continue his career as foreign minister, but it is also conceivable that he might accept work in shaping the relations of the Soviet member republics.

Gorbachev-Antall February Meeting To Go Ahead*LD2212211990 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT
22 Dec 90*

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—The development of relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union is not a personal affair, and the Hungarian side would obviously like to go ahead with the bilateral talks, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in a reaction to the news of Shevardnadze's resignation.

Imre Szokai, deputy secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, quoted Jeszenszky on denying the December 22 report of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG that the resignation had made uncertain the February date fixed earlier for the Moscow meeting between Jozsef Antall and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Incidents Occur With Soviet Border Guards

Border Guard Official on Chop 'Clash'

LD2112172490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Interview with Janos (Liberk), press spokesman for the border guard, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] We first report on the clash at Chop [in USSR, near Hungarian border]. TASS reported on the event based on a RABOCHAYA GAZETA report. According to this report the armed clash took place at about 0700 yesterday. Did the Hungarian border guard notice this? Janos (Liberk), press spokesman for the border guard, is on the line.

[(Liberk)] We did not notice any shooting. Even so, the news of this naturally reached the Border Guard: We heard from travelers. The commander of the Nyirbator Border Guard District made contact with his Soviet counterpart. He asked for an official reply, information, in connection with the report. The official reply and information do not confirm this. Thus, they do not know of such a thing; officially, they are not even speaking of this.

The Soviet commander, however, said that in the battalion concerned there was an incident when 50 soldiers escaped. To our knowledge, on the basis of their information, three of these 50 have been caught, so 47 are still free. The Nyirbator Border Guard District, by means of regrouping its own forces, has, therefore, reinforced the stretch of border concerned. The searching of trains is much more rigorous than earlier. I do not want to go into detail on such internal, professional matters, but at divergence from earlier, there is now machine-gun cover while carrying out the search. In the past 48 hours—I could also say 96 hours, but I believe that especially the past 24 hours are interesting from this viewpoint—there has been no movement on the Hungarian-Soviet border. There have been no border violations or attempted border violations, neither going out nor coming in. The Hungarian borders are calm at the moment.

[Reporter] To what extent does the Hungarian Border Guard consider this incident to be dangerous?

[(Liberk)] Because there has been no movement on the Hungarian-Soviet state border in the past 24 hours, and there has been no appearance of any border violation, we consider this situation to be as dangerous as shown by our measures.

Soviet Border Reinforced in Zahony

LD2112190190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] The Hungarian Border Guard has reinforced the stretch of Hungarian-Soviet border in the region of Zahony, after Soviet soldiers of various nationalities had

an armed clash in the neighboring town of Chop. After the incident, the commander of the Nyirbator Border Guard District asked for a meeting with his Soviet counterpart, who said that 50 soldiers had escaped from the Soviet battalion in Chop. In his statement, the spokesman for the Hungarian Border Guard said they had not come across border violators for the time being, and no movement had been detected on the Hungarian-Soviet green border.

Alert Lifted on Soviet Border

LD2212135190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] The 47 soldiers who escaped yesterday after interethnic clashes in the Chop barracks have been arrested in the Munkachevo border guard region [Ukraine]. A Hungarian border guard spokesman also announced that the additional measures on the Soviet side of the border have been lifted. The Hungarian border guard will do so from 1700 today.

Joint Agreement With Soviets on Oil Delivery

LD2312011890 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT
22 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian Mineralimpex and the Soviet Soyuzgasexport companies have agreed on the delivery of 5,190 million cubic metres of Soviet natural gas to Hungary in 1991.

Mineralimpex has also made a contract with the Soviet Soyuznefteexport for the purchase of 2 million tonnes of oil. Hungary's oil requirement is between 6 and 6.5 million tonnes.

The Hungarian company will pay the world market price in dollars for both gas and oil.

This year the Soviet Union is selling Hungary 6.29 billion cubic metres of natural gas and 4.5 million tonnes of oil, instead of the contracted amount of 6.48 million tonnes. (To make up for the shortfall, Hungary had to buy 1.5 million tonnes of oil for 400 million dollars.)

Foreign Ministry Statement on Romanian Relations

LD2212220890 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT
22 Dec 90

[Statement issued by Foreign Ministry in Budapest on 22 December]

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—In keeping with the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the other CSCE documents and the valid international agreements including the commitments involved by membership in the Council of Europe, the Republic of Hungary strives for peaceful and settled relations, as well as mutually advantageous co-operation with all its neighbours, among them with Romania, in every area, runs the

statement issued by the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Hungary on December 22.

The Republic of Hungary considers it important for the democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe to take place in balanced and stable circumstances, and for the legal and constitutional conditions for the practice of democracy, a market economy and human rights, including the individual and collective rights of the national minorities, to be created within the single Europe. A devoted adherent of human rights, Hungary is essentially interested in the position of Hungarians beyond its borders.

Hungary firmly supports the idea that the Romanian-resident Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons, Jews and others live in peace, welfare and freedom in the spirit of the above principles. It welcomes and upholds every effort made by the Romanian Government, political forces and the broadest strata of society along this line.

Any step or manifestation directed at ironing out differences not by the peaceful means of negotiations, or intent on guaranteeing the rights of the various communities of citizens not by creating a law-governed state, is to be assessed as an irresponsible attitude running contrary to the interests of the whole of our continent.

Back in the dramatic days of Timisoara and Bucharest last December, the government and people of the Republic of Hungary provided concrete financial and political-moral support for bringing the ideas of freedom and equality to triumph in Romania, thereby creating conditions for the lasting conciliation of the two peoples.

Hungary continues to be ready to give every possible help to Romania in creating conditions for European unity, international agreement, co-operation and stability, as well as for democracy, the freedom of expression and assembly, and the institutional and legal prerequisites of human rights.

European Communities Approve Loan 21 Dec

LD2212065290 Budapest MTI in English 0107 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Brussels, December 21 (MTI)—The Council of Ministers of the European Communities on Friday approved the second installment, of 260 million ECU [European Currency Units] (more than 350 million dollars) of the loan intended for Hungary.

The Rome summit of the communities, held at the end of October, promised to speed up granting the second installment of the medium-range, 1,000-million-dollar loan ensured to Hungary. Under the terms of the decision on Friday, the 12 member states have authorized the commission of the community to organize a loan valued at 260 million ECU [European Currency Unit] on the international capital market, and to pay this to Hungary.

The first instalment of the loan was the equivalent of 400 million dollars, and the community granted this immediately after the parliamentary elections in spring, to promote restructuring in Hungary.

President Goncz Issues Communique on New Ministers

LD2112150190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1305 GMT 21 Dec 90

["Text" of communique by President Arpad Goncz on cabinet changes, read by National Assembly Speaker Gyoergy Szabad at the National Assembly session—live]

[Text] I inform you that, according to the fourth clause of the 33d paragraph of the Constitution of the Hungarian Republic, at the proposal of Mr. Prime Minister, I relieved Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar from this post at his request—with recognition of his merits—effective 20 December 1990. At the same time, I appointed Dr. Katalin Botos to minister without portfolio, Dr. Mihaly Kupa to minister of finance, Dr. Ernoe Pungor to minister without portfolio. I relieved from their posts—with recognition of their merits—effective 21 December 1990 Dr. Peter Boross, minister without portfolio, and Dr. Balazs Horvath, minister of the interior. At the same time, I appointed Dr. Peter Boross minister of the interior, Dr. Andras Galszecsy minister without portfolio, and Dr. Balazs Horvath minister without portfolio.

Budapest, 21 December 1990

Arpad Goncz, president of the Hungarian Republic.

Antall Queried on Multiparty Talks, Budget, IMF

LD2112223590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] In November, Jozsef Antall promised in a speech in the National Assembly that, prior to important decisions, he would brief the other five parliamentary parties about his government's stance. The first such six-party coordination took place today.

[Unidentified reporter] A few minutes ago the new set of ministers swore the oath in parliament. You were present there. Public opinion expected something else from you today as well: the announcement of the second phase of the government reshuffle.

[Antall] This was the first phase, and I think it is already of a determining character; the second phase comes into effect following a coalition discussion. Time is very short, and it is now the budget that we really have to concentrate on. The payment of further credits and the support of the EC, everything depends on whether we sign, whether we can sign the agreement with the IMF, and the IMF will only sign if we have an adopted budget.

[Reporter] Is there a link between the pressure for the adoption of the budget and the six-party coordination negotiation which took place today?

[Antall] There is no direct casual relation. This, too, is part of our political negotiations, part of our seeking a formula; because it is an intolerable situation that in Hungary, as it were, a kind of tribal war should be fought between the parliamentary parties—of course, I mean this in quotation marks. Thus, we must work out the form of a normal parliamentary cooperation. What we are talking about is not that we could have here some kind of interparty agreements in advance of the parliamentary debates. [passage omitted]

Government Reverses Uranium Mining Decision

LD2112151590 Budapest MTI in English 1314 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 21, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—The Hungarian Government decided on Thursday to reverse an earlier decision to phase out uranium mining in Hungary by the end of the current year, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told the press on Friday.

The government has commissioned Peter Akos Bod, minister of trade and industry, and Mihaly Kupa, minister of finance, to look into ways of making uranium mining in Hungary profitable, preferably through a joint venture. The ministers will put forward recommendations by March 31, 1991.

The Mecsek Uranium Mine Company has already cut its workforce from 7,100 to 2,500, and on August 31 this year signed a preliminary agreement with the Glencar Company of Ireland to set up an uranium mining JV—a development which contributed considerably to the government's change of heart.

At one time uranium from the mine was selling at over 80 USD a kilogram when the world market price was under 65 USD [U.S. dollars]. The Irish company investigated the Mecsek uranium mine and found that, through restructuring involving large redundancies, the mine could be made profitable.

Glencar wants to take an 80 per cent stake in the mine, which has deposits for several decades. Current output is 485 tonnes a year. If the mine could continue operations as a JV, the state budget would save an estimated 15 billion forints by not having to close it.

In [the] future, 40 per cent less uranium will be delivered for processing into nuclear power plant fuel to the Soviet Union. The Paks nuclear power plant uses fuel produced from Hungarian uranium in the Soviet Union. Were Hungary to import the necessary nuclear fuel from Western markets, it would have to pay 18-20 million USD a year.

Oil, Gas Trust To Import, Export Independently

LD2112215190 Budapest MTI in English 1324 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 21, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—The National Oil and Gas Trust (OKGT) has been granted the right to import and export oil and gas independently, ahead of liberalization on January 1.

OKGT provides Hungary with oil and gas and imports the required raw materials through the Mineralimpex FTO.

OKGT has ordered 550,000 tonnes of oil for dollars from the Soviet Union and the Mediterranean region with deliveries scheduled for January 1991, and is likely to ensure domestic oil demands also for February. However, it will face fierce competition later on.

With its eye on the longer-term future, the organisation is currently conducting talks with the Soviet Union on a concession to explore Siberian oil fields since the trust has considerable technical capabilities and a development fund of about 6 billion forints (100 million USD). Should it manage to win the concession, it would also involve foreign firms in the project.

Mineralimpex is likely to conclude a contract for the delivery of the 1 million tonnes of oil and 5.2 billion cubic metres of natural gas which are included on the list of products in the Hungarian-Soviet trade agreement.

Besides OKGT, Shell and Vidimpex Ltd and a number of JVS will also import oil and petrol.

Hungary's annual need is 6-6.5 million tonnes of oil, 6 billion cubic metres of natural gas, about 300-400,000 tonnes of petrol and 100-200,000 tonnes of diesel oil.

Walesa Arrives for 22 Dec Warsaw Ceremonies*LD2112180990 Warsaw PAP in English 1716 GMT
21 Dec 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Polish president-elect Lech Walesa arrived here from Gdansk this afternoon. The president-elect discussed with his close associates the details of Saturday's ceremonies of assuming the presidential office and was preparing himself for them. Lech Walesa's press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told PAP.

Lech Walesa was flying from Gdansk to Warsaw aboard a special plane. He is staying in one of government residences near the Belvedere here. He is accompanied by wife Danuta, four sons, daughter-in-law and brother Stanislaw, who lives in Bydgoszcz. The president-elect did not conduct today any talks which have not been connected with Saturday's ceremonies, Drzycimski said.

Walesa's spokesman also stressed one should not expect any official talks and nominations until the president-elect has been sworn in. On Sunday, Lech Walesa will come back to Gdansk. On Monday morning he will work in his office in Sopot. And he will spend Christmas Eve at home in Gdansk. Probably on December 26, the president will come to Warsaw where he is expected to conduct further talks and meetings.

News Team Protests Walesa Advisers' Interference*LD2112223490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] The management of the news production team categorically protests against the attempts by advisers of the president-elect to interfere in the composition of the team designated to prepare the transmission of tomorrow's ceremony. All attempts to remove journalists from work at the cameras are impermissible and in vain as long as we are responsible for the form of the transmission and news.

[Signed] Chief News Editor Jacek Snopkiewicz, Deputy Editor Zbigniew Domaranczyk, Deputy Editor Kazimierz Zurawski.

Commission Declares Walesa Election 'Valid'*LD2212105790 Warsaw PAP in English 1029 GMT
22 Dec 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22—The National Assembly's special commission today examined the report of the State Electoral Committee on the presidential elections in Poland, the submitted protests, and the respective opinion of the Supreme Court and it declared the election of Lech Walesa to the Office of President of the Polish Republic as valid.

Deputy Bednarkiewicz who spoke on behalf of the commission stressed the historic significance of the act taking place in the National Assembly today. "The presidential election was fully democratic, equal, and

free. The choice of the nation cannot divide. It can only integrate, build up the national unity," Bednarkiewicz stressed.

Walesa Delivers Inauguration Speech to Assembly*LD2212121190 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Speech by President Lech Walesa at inauguration ceremony in National Assembly in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the Assembly, ladies and gentlemen, fellow countrymen at home and abroad. I stand before you as the first president of Poland elected directly by the whole nation. The Third Republic of Poland ceremonially begins from this moment. Nothing and nobody can diminish this fact. The bad times when our country's authorities were appointed under foreign pressure or as a result of forced compromises are coming to an end. Today, we are taking a significant step down the long and bloody road to the rebuilding of our independence. Providence bestowed on us the privilege of peacefully fulfilling the testament of past generations. Independent Poland wishes to be an element of the peaceful order in Europe. It wants to be a good neighbor. We are linked to the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania by centuries of common history. This also concerns Germany, in whom we want to see a friendly gate to Europe. While culturally linked to the West, at the same time we wish to create a spirit of liking and cooperation in our relations with Russia. We are, at the same time, conscious that only a reformed and economically strong Poland will be an equal partner for others.

May it please the Assembly. During the period of your busy term of office, Poland achieved a great deal. Today, the nation expects even more of us. It expects changes in economic policy and in forms of administration. The attitude of millions of voters was unequivocal in this respect. Our reforms must proceed faster and more efficiently, with thoughts not only of statistics but above all, of people. We must rebuild the structure of the state, decentralizing it in such a way that as many decisions as possible can be taken at the grassroots.

Decisions should be made on the spot where people live and know their problems. This is an enormous legislative and financial task. An equally great task will be the nationwide privatization. Poland should become a nation of owners, everyone can and should become the owner of a fragment of the national assets, a fragment of our fatherland. This is the simplest and most tested route to responsibility. Only in this way we shall be able to multiply our goods and learn good management.

We will continue the modified program of Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz. It is the example of our resolve and ability to bear sacrifices. If we continue to demonstrate these features, we will be credible partners.

Today we are taking a significant step on the road to democracy in our fatherland. The president elected by the nation has the duty to serve this nation. The future government and the future parliament also have this duty.

The state authorities must remember that one must work to gain the confidence of the citizens every day. Together let us make sure that the government and its ministers listen better to the voice of the nation. The latest elections made everyone aware that no one has a permanent credit of confidence.

May it please the Assembly. I come from a peasant family. For many years I have been a worker. I will never forget my point of departure onto the road that led me to the highest office in the state. I would like, through the fact of my elevation, for all Polish workers and peasants to feel more equal administrators of our fatherland. We must again believe in our strengths. We have a lot of them but we don't always know how to use them.

Too often, we doubt our capabilities. Passivity and despondency are the greatest obstacles on the road to prosperity for Poles. When we take to working with confidence, that is when the most highly developed countries will show greater interest in us.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear compatriots. Europe without Christianity would not be itself, just as Poland which, on entering Europe, does not want to, ought not to, and must not lose its roots. That is why immediately after my election as president, I went to Jasna Gora, to our nation's spiritual capital, so as there to pledge an oath of loyalty to the republic, so as there to draw strength in order to fulfill my mission. I believe that God will give his people strength. I believe that God will bless his people with peace. I believe that we will take advantage of this historic opportunity. [prolonged applause]

Walesa Addresses Armed Forces Ceremony

*LD2212133390 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1200 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Speech by President Lech Walesa at ceremony to assume command of the Armed Forces at the Royal Castle in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Soldiers of the Polish Army: Today, I was sworn in as president of the Polish Republic. In assuming this noble office I have become, in accordance with the law, supreme commander of the Armed Forces. I will fulfill these functions conscious of my responsibility before God, the nation, history, and my own conscience.

Soldiers: In the history of our nation, the Polish Army always constituted the guarantee of the state's sovereignty. It was the guarantor of its independent existence. Often, it constituted the only visible sign that the Republic existed. You are the heirs to these proud traditions. Here, you represent the entire Polish Army. I expect from you the fulfillment of your duty to defend

the homeland with dignity. The soldier is not only Poland's defensive leading force. He is also her moral leading force. Military service is a civic service. That is why it belongs to the most honorable and commendable duties of the state, and I have fulfilled this duty.

Soldiers: The Polish nation sees the Army as the guarantor of the state's sovereignty and citizen's democratic freedoms. The Army should fulfill these duties regardless of existing political configurations, and stand above all divisions. That is also why it is important to restore to the Polish Army its national character, and to shape defensive doctrine in accordance with Poland's *raison d'être*. These principles decided the directions of transformations that have been achieved to date within the Polish Army. Today, they must decide the deepening and acceleration of these transformations.

Mistress Generals, Commanders, and Superiors: The president of the Republic, as supreme commander of the Armed Forces, fulfills his functions through the intercession of generals, officers, and the entire Polish Army cadre. The fatherland is placing on you the duty of assuring a peaceful life for the nation and handing over its sons to you, whom you are to prepare for the defense of the fatherland in the ranks of the Polish Army. I believe that you will fulfill these duties with honor.

Soldiers: I am meeting you at the square of the Warsaw Royal Castle, in the place of the meeting of the Four-Year Sejm and the adoption of the 3 May Constitution. Let us therefore repeat the words which appear in this historic document. The Army is nothing but a defensive, decent [as heard] force, drawn out of the general force of the nation.

The nation owes its Army a reward and respect because it is sacrificing itself for its defense. As the commander of the Armed Forces I state solemnly that I shall devote all my strength and skills to the matters of Poland and its development and defense. When the fate of the whole nation is concerned, I shall govern by law and by heart, by wisdom and caution.

Walesa Address at Presidential Insignia Ceremony

*LD2212172890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1525 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Speech by President Lech Walesa at the Presidential Insignia Ceremony at the Royal Castle in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. President, Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen. We are experiencing a special moment. On 2 September 1939, the president of the Polish Republic left the Royal Castle on a long journey. Today, after long years, this journey has come to an end. The president of the republic in exile, the symbol of our sovereignty, is once again at the Royal Castle. [applause] He is once again at the Castle, at his headquarters. He has returned here with the insignia of state authority, after years of exile in foreign lands. Through you, Mr. President, I wish to

thank all those who, through their steadfastness, fortitude, faith, and heroism contributed to the fact that the Polish exile never broke off contact with Poland; all those who through publications, radio stations, organizations, and work of individuals, preserved the memory of the nation conceived as a whole, as a cultural whole and a part of European civilization.

Without the work of unnamed masses of Poles, without the community spirit stretching beyond the borders it would not have been easy to knock down the wall that divided us. You have carried the standard of freedom with pride. You have fulfilled the greatest patriotic duty toward the fatherland. Poland has come out victorious from the historic test, and with its rights undiminished. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, we still have a long way to normality. We have just begun. We have to build democratic, independent, and prosperous Poland, Poland with a clear political and economic system. So, at this very moment when our march toward Europe is gaining pace we will need assistance and examples to follow in political, trade, and industrial and cultural spheres. There must be exchanges in all fields, and we will not achieve this without help from our Polish institutions spread all over the world, and without Poles wanting to participate in the life of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen, today, when the moral and political power is becoming united I believe that the effort over many centuries by the Polish expatriots will yield fruit. I believe that we all will live in a common European home. The Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their historic mission victoriously and with dignity. Once again, I thank you Mr. President for everything. [applause]

President Walesa, Jaruzelski Discuss Presidency

*LD2312132990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1300 GMT 23 Dec 90*

[Text] Before noon at the Belweder Palace, President Lech Walesa received Wojciech Jaruzelski, who shared with him his experiences from the period that he held the office of president. Wojciech Jaruzelski once again wished President Lech Walesa success in his highly responsible mission. President Lech Walesa wished Wojciech Jaruzelski good health and good fortune.

Walesa Faces Great Political, Economic Challenges

*AU2312205390 Gdansk TYGODNIK GDANSKI
in Polish 16 Dec 90 p 1*

[Jan Jakubowski commentary: "Our President"]

[Text] The presidential campaign had something that reminded one of a good football match, namely, star players, newcomers (hoping to impress the spectators), an unbelievable result at halftime, and finally, an over-time period that put the result beyond doubt. The right

team won and justice was seen to be done. The public, worn out by this marathon contest, breathed a sigh of relief.

Contrary to the voices of all critics and skeptics, I think that we made the right choice in the circumstances. A truly independent politician—free of all coteries and political parties—has been elected president of Poland. Additionally, he is materially independent and this is something that is not without significance.

Quite simply, I think that Walesa deserved the presidency. In any normal country, it rightfully belongs to the leader of the opposition when it comes to power. Walesa headed the "Solidarity" movement for 10 years. This was a movement with very diverse ideology, united by its rejection of totalitarianism. It is obvious, that this great movement had to break apart when it achieved its goals. The hidden or suppressed ideological options had to come to the surface. Continuing to fudge issues was a denial of democracy. Walesa quickly understood this and was the first "Solidarity" politician publicly agree to the split. He did this at a time when the new "Solidarity" elites attempted to reconstruct a new party hegemony, with its "central committee" and subservient regional structures. These people now felt themselves cheated. Their secret plans were exposed. Like parrots they began to accuse Walesa of trying to create a dictatorship. This was to mislead public opinion. The truth of the matter is that Walesa saved Polish democracy.

Walesa has had to pay a very high price for disorganizing their ranks and for tearing up the painstakingly prepared new blueprint. The new elites, which had earlier pronounced him as a "burnt out" politician, and superfluous for "the new stage," unleashed an unprecedented campaign of criticism against him. Every available trick in the book was used. Almost the whole of the monopolized press—despite all pressure, it still remains undistributed—was mobilized. Countless international strings were pulled.

Walesa took the brunt of this attack. Fending off the blows, he went onto the offensive. It is true that he often did this in a rather clumsy way, but he always fought openly. Once again he has proved that he is a politician who can take hard knocks, even if they come from the camp that was his not so long ago. He confirmed his leadership qualities, qualities without which it is impossible to lead the country.

He is now faced by unbelievably difficult tasks. He has to unite the whole country under the banner of work and he has to regenerate society's faith in the systemic changes. These changes have largely had lip service paid to them, because in essence they brake against the soul of "homo Sovieticus" that still pervades most of our society. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government enjoyed such trust a year ago. Walesa, at the outset of his presidency does not have it. People were unable to bear the burden of

sacrifices, which proved beyond their endurance and the government failed to give them hope for the future. One cannot live without hope. Walesa is trying to rekindle it through his own faith in Polish success and the success of every Pole. At his first press conference (held late in the night when the initial result had been announced) he said: "I will try to help all those who want to reconstruct Poland so that we can all advance and fully respect each others individuality. I shall work very hard to really change Poland, decisively, strongly, bravely, but sensibly. I shall sweep forward strongly...."

Three days before, he had said that the task of his presidency was to distribute 60 percent of national wealth to the citizens within five years. He believes that Poles are capable of achieving their goals, and this completely changes the hollow slogans of the Gierek years giving them real meaning.

Will he be able to achieve this while fully respecting the rules of the democratic game? This is one of the crucial questions that are being asked in a country that is now deep in recession. It seems that present rules will be changed. Walesa feels the strength of his electoral support and his internal force. I think that both parliament and the government will feel this presidential force. He will not seek to restrain the role of these institutions, but rather to hurry them along and act faster and more efficiently.

My sympathies go to the next government and prime minister. This president will really keep a close eye on them while continuing to listen to society's voice. The government and parliament will feel his constant pressure from above and below. No easy ride here. Only those people who are resilient and ready for sacrifices will remain in politics and government. This seems to be the requirement of the times and it looks like it will happen.

We are faced by very difficult years, but I think they will bear fruit. The first Polish president elected in general elections has a great opportunity to enter the history books not only as the destroyer of the communist system, but also as the man who laid the foundations for Poland's prosperity. This is our wish for him.

Sejm Rejects Constitution Draft Amendments

LD2112152190 Warsaw PAP in English 1300 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—The lower house of the Polish parliament today rejected draft amendments to the Constitution after Deputy Andrzej Bratkowski (the Polish Social-Democratic Union) had argued that the introduction of the principle under which the Sejm would operate as a standing body would make a positive impact on the legislative procedure, reduce delays in this respect and allow it to focus on controlling law-abidingness and the activity of state administration.

Democratic Union Holds First Meeting 15 Dec

AU2312182190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 17 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Ewa Szemplinska report: "A Grouping for an Open Poland"]

[Text] The first meeting of the Council of the Democratic Union took place on 15 December in Warsaw University's Senate Hall. The meeting was attended by Democratic Union Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Given that the union's council—chosen two weeks ago—numbers about 100 members, decisions were taken to transform it into the National Founding Committee of the Democratic Union, elect a presidium, and to call a political program and internal regulations committee. The presidium is composed of the following: Tadeusz Mazowiecki (chairman); Piotr Nowina-Konopka (secretary); Szczecin Deputy Jozef Kowalczyk; Torun Deputy Jan Wyrowinski; Kazimierz Kobialko (Opole); Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Henryk Bujak from the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD]; and two places were reserved for representatives of the Forum of the Democratic Right. The Political Program Committee (22 members), will be headed by Jan Rokita. The Internal Regulations Committee, by Jack Taylor.

The following declaration was adopted during the meeting: "In connection with the resignation of the government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the National Founding Committee of the Democratic Union wishes to state that the outgoing government played a historical role in the process of leading Poland out of a totalitarian system toward democracy and a market economy. The committee wishes to express its thanks Prime Minister Mazowiecki for all his efforts for Poland at a time of great difficulty and during a period crucial to Poland's future."

Tadeusz Mazowiecki took the opportunity to thank once again all those people who voted for him in the first round and who followed his appeal supported Walesa in the second round.

In the evening, a news conference was held in the offices of the Democratic Union during which Tadeusz Mazowiecki answered questions.

"At present, the most important thing is to begin organizing Democratic Union committees. We want to form a strong political party that will support the values I spoke about in my speech to the Sejm on Friday [14 December] and which are crucial if we want to push forward towards a democratic and open Poland. We must create a political force that will strive to preserve these values in our political life.

"The union is a political community and although it would make sense to form a single party, it is crucial that we form a political umbrella under which we can attract other political movements and members of our union committees. For the time being, let us remain in a union

of a common political grouping that has common values, but can apply different solutions to specific problems. We can achieve union in an evolutionary manner without undue haste.

Asked whether he thought the union would be a force to be reckoned with in the upcoming parliamentary elections, Mazowiecki replied, "This is a very important task for us, although it is not our only aim. That is why we must quickly organize our committees and attract members. We have no way of knowing whether the Sejm will opt for a spring election, but we have to be prepared for every eventuality."

Asked whether there was any possibility of coming to an understanding with Lech Walesa after the parliamentary elections, Mazowiecki said, "I approach the matter in this way. Even if people differ profoundly from each other, they must continue to observe certain conventions in order not to infringe vital state interests. We see our role in parliament as an opposition that will fight for a democratic vision of Poland, but we will not become a destructive opposition."

Fielding a question on whether he saw any possibility of cooperating with the new government, Mazowiecki replied, "We can only answer that question when there is a new government. For the time being, we do not want to adopt any hasty positions. Our critical and expectant attitude is the result of comments made by Lech Walesa during the presidential campaign. Owing to the fact that we have decided not to enter government, we are not presenting any preconditions."

Answering a question about a possible party newspaper, Mazowiecki said, "Party organs are a thing of the past, but we expect that a section of the press will be supportive of our aims, and that the whole press will give objective information about our party and our political position."

Mazowiecki stated that he would be happy with a large proportion of parliamentary seats, in reply to a question about the percentage of Sejm seats the party would be aiming at in the upcoming election.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk added that about 25 percent of parliamentary seats target was a real one, but it was too early to say whether the union would be fielding a single list of candidates. This would depend on the political program accepted (or not accepted) by union members and on the election law.

The union hopes to issue its main political program points in about a month's time.

Ministries' Budgets Rise With Inflation

AU2312180790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 17 Dec p 2

["us"-signed report: "How Much for the Defense Ministry, and How Much for the Interior Ministry?"]

[Text] In the 1991 budget, the government has earmarked 22.25 trillion zlotys for the Ministry of National Defense. This is 55 percent more than in this year's budget. Some 9.74 trillion zlotys has been earmarked for public security, about 62 percent more than this year.

According to the Finance Ministry's forecasts, average prices in 1991 will be about 52 percent higher than this year, and prices in December 1991 will be about 32 percent higher than this December.

Therefore, says the ministry, the planned budgets for the above two ministries should guarantee that, allowing for the effects of inflation, the real income of their employees next year should be at the same level as in the final quarter of this year.

Some 7.5 trillion zlotys has been earmarked for wages and bonuses for Defense Ministry employees, almost 63 percent more than this year.

The Defense Ministry budget has been planned on the assumption that in 1991 the Army will consist of 103,500 career soldiers (against 108,000 at the end of 1990); 161,600 soldiers doing compulsory military service (against 189,000 at the end of 1990); 29,400 army college cadets (against 56,700 at the end of 1990); and 110,200 civilian employees (compared to 113,500 at the end of 1990).

As of January 1991, the Army will pay rent and road vehicle tax. The authors of the budget claim that these new expenses, plus next year's price hikes, are the main reason for the increased Defense Ministry budget.

As far as the Interior Ministry is concerned, the 1991 budget sets aside Z5.5 trillion for wages, 68 percent more than this year. The Interior Ministry budget for 1991 assumes that the number of employees in the Ministry will be as follows: 132,200 career soldiers and functionaries (against 118,300 at the end of 1990); 20,100 non-career soldiers (against 20,000 at the end of 1990); and 38,000 civilian employees (against 38,600 at the end of 1990).

Ambassador Does Not Rule Out Visas for Russians

AU2312183190 Vienna AZ in German
22 Dec 90 p 6

[Interview with Polish Ambassador Wladislaw Bartoszewski by Daniela Kittner; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kittner] Will Poland introduce compulsory visas for Russians?

[Bartoszewski] Since the Austrians are afraid of several thousand Poles on Mexico Square [illegal Polish market in Vienna], the Poles have sufficient reason for being afraid of several million immigrants from the East. Precisely in the case of the USSR we do not see a good

reason why we should help them in particular. Those who are looking for a paradise in Poland have to be set right.

Sejm Deputy Exposes Report on Minorities

LD2112215490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1102 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Speech by Deputy Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, chairman of the Democratic Left Parliamentary Floor Group, at the Polish National Assembly in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Madam Speaker, may it please the House. I have come across an amazing document of the Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ]. It is a report, dated 17 December this year, on the political situation in Polish-Belorussian relations on the ethnic border in the Białystok Region and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], in the autumn of 1990. The contents of this document are so strange that I think it deserves to be presented to the public in its entirety. However, regarding the time available to the House and considering that the document consists of 17 typewritten pages, allow me to quote several extracts and—on the basis of these—to ask some questions.

The report is addressed to several dozen people. These include ministers and deputy ministers of various sectors, the chairmen of some Sejm and Senate commissions, the MSZ leadership, the chiefs of the special services, and representatives of the mass media. The addressees include neither the Sejm speaker nor myself, although in part it also concerns me.

It says that twice this year, in October and in November, MSZ specialists, Mr. (Kurkiewicz), from the USSR Desk of the European Department, and Mr. (?Czawicki), from the Polonia Desk of the Consular Department, came to the Białystok Region on—it says here—study trips. They held a number of discussions with different people—political activists. Judging from the information contained in this document, these were exclusively Solidarity and Citizens' Committee activists. They held discussions with journalists and officials of state and self-government administration. On the basis of these discussions they formulated a number of assessment and conclusions. I would like to quote some of these to you, ladies and gentlemen.

Following discussions with Mr. (Osakiewicz), chairman of Białystok Region Solidarity, the document says that so far Białystok Solidarity has made no political gesture toward the Belorussians. This indicates a lack of ideas for fashioning Polish-Belorussian relations in the border area. Following discussions with representatives of administrative and self-government authorities in Hajnowka, it says here that the Belorussian activists—this refers to the Belorussian activists who were elected in the self-government elections—have set up the Union of Eastern Parishes. As a result of this the area is dominated by the local Belorussian nomenklatura from

the communist period. In the Hajnowka Town Council the Belorussian councillors—I am still quoting—were connected with the old political system: the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], Civic Militia Volunteer Reserve [ORMO], the administration, and the old municipal people's council.

Another quote: The view keeps being repeated that the Polish WOP [border protection troops] soldiers keep on drinking vodka with the Soviet border troopers, while the chief of the Białowieża border post is involved in trade deals with them. Unquote.

On the basis of a conversation with Mr. Dolistowski, a journalist on the PLUS weekly, the MSZ emissaries state: The most important objective of the communist milieux gathered in the SDRP is to gain influence over the future policies of the Belorussian Socio-Cultural Association [BTSK]. In this area the situation is favorable for the communists. The rural population is susceptible to political manipulations, while—I would like you to listen carefully to this part of the quote—crude provocations, such as setting fires to or stealing things from Orthodox churches, are fully successful here. In Mr. Dolistowski's view, the new Białystok power elite, the state and self-government administration, and the administration of the Solidarity region are not capable of making the least gesture toward the Belorussian ethnic minority.

Following discussions with Mr. (Kazimierz Leszczyński), member of the Citizens' Committee and mayor of Bielsk Podlaski, it says here: Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz is constantly having meetings with the Belorussian activists of the Bielsk SDRP organization. Here follows a list of my alleged interlocutors and it ends with the statement that these meetings were secret.

Let us go on. Here is a strange statement. All Orthodox believers are connected with the former power apparatus. In Bielsk Podlaski they have apparently set up a communist-shaded shadow cabinet. According to the mayor, apart from the Bielsk SDRP activists, the following persons play important roles there. This is followed by a list of these persons. According to the mayor, the frictions in Polish-Belorussian relations in the Białystok Region were introduced by martial law and, especially, the Belorussians' active involvement on the side of the communist authorities. That was another quote.

Following a conversation with Mr. E. (?Wapko), it is recorded here: The hostility between the Belorussians and the Poles in the Białystok area is being whipped up by Moscow. An example of Poles' participation in the whipping-up of mutual hostility is the 8 October declaration by 16 Bielsk councillors, Citizens' Committee members. This declaration is a reaction to a statement by Deputy Cimoszewicz, who, being a permanent resident of Kalinówka Koscielna in Białystok Voivodship, has recently been striving to present himself as a defender of the Belorussians.

The text includes the following statement: The Orthodox population of the Podlasie [Bialystok region] is not an ethnic minority but an aboriginal Polish population that was Russified and forcibly brought into the Orthodox Church. This is followed by libels against the Orthodox Church and the clergy of that Church. It says here, among other things, that the Church has a reluctant attitude to all manifestations of Belorussian patriotism. The bishop of Bialystok and Gdansk, Sawa, removes Orthodox priests who introduce Belorussian elements into the liturgy.

After discussions with Mr. Sokrat Janowicz it is recorded: Sokrat Janowicz was informed in confidence by Bialystok Solidarity that in light of the position of the Polish voters no talks between that organization and the Belorussians were possible. Sokrat Janowicz had predicted that in the Bialystok Region Deputy Cimoszewicz would come first in the presidential elections. Janowicz, similarly to (?Wapko), suggested that (Eugeniusz Mironowicz) could become a Belorussian deputy to the Sejm of the Polish Republic.

This is followed by assessments and conclusions. I would also like to quote some of these to you, ladies and gentlemen.

Conclusion No. 5. The existing hostility between Poles and Belorussians, which is most probably fanned by the USSR, equally in Belorussia and on the Polish-Belorussian ethnic borderline, most probably illustrates the Soviet thesis that the Union republics seeking independence have a nationalist—and thus also anti-Polish—orientation.

Conclusion No. 6. Polish-Belorussian relations cannot be isolated from the sociopolitical situation in the Bialystok Region. This situation is bad: A border that is not shut tight, and well-developed smuggling and unlawful trading, make external infiltration easy. Foreign secret services can get significant influence there.

Conclusion No. 7. The Polish Belorussians have no political leaders. Political control is still retained by the old nomenklatura. This is confirmed by the results of the first and second rounds of the presidential elections. This nomenklatura still retains old friendly border relations with the Belorussian SSR. The Belorussian peasants are still scared of it.

Conclusion No. 10. A problem of crucial importance appears to be a positive solution to the issue of a genuine apolitical leader among the Belorussians in Poland. The setting up by young noncommunist activists of a Belorussian organization that would compete against the BTSK would represent the best option. At the same time we should be fearful not so much of Belorussian nationalism as such, but rather of the possibility of the Polish Belorussians getting protection from outside, for instance from the communist movement or from foreign states' secret services.

Conclusion No. 11. The Polish Republic's *raison d'etat* requires that the electoral law should have an entry that guarantees a parliamentary seat to a representative of the Belorussian ethnic minority. This would mean that representation of Belorussian interests through an intermediary, the SDRP for instance, could be avoided.

The Ministry of Culture and Arts—this is Conclusion No. 12—should stop financing BTSK activity in view of the reports that the BTSK is using public money to build party structures and considering the report about the Cimoszewicz-[name indistinct] electoral alliance.

May it please the House. On the basis of the quoted extracts, as well as a number of others. I would like to ask the following:

Were the Foreign Affairs Ministry functionaries authorized to do preparatory work for future parliamentary elections in Bialystok Voivodship? Who authorized them to do so? On what basis have such serious allegations against a neighboring state been formulated? Does the MSZ employ serious men or fantasizers and seekers of sensational gossip? Do such analyses form the basis for drawing conclusions in our domestic and foreign policy? What has the Foreign Affairs Ministry got to do with manipulations to set up a political leadership for the Belorussians in Poland? By what right are civil servants determining the best political solutions? Does the MSZ really think that the republic's *raison d'etat* presupposes restrictions on the Social Democrats' political influence? Is false information about my alleged electoral alliances a sufficient basis for financial discrimination against the BTSK and cultural activity among the Belorussian population? By what right are such vulgar libels against a religious minority being disseminated? How is it possible for an MSZ document to be in the nature of a denunciation from a political police informer? Who in the MSZ is interested in stirring among the ethnic minorities? Is the political fanaticism of the authors of this text a sufficient explanation for all the nonsense they proclaim? By what right does an MSZ document contain such heinous libels as the accusation of the forces of the left of setting fires to and stealing from Orthodox churches? [indistinct noise]

My colleague, Deputy [Beszta-Borowski, from my constituency, should know that in the course of the 20th century the left has already been accused on one occasion of arson. [applause]

Who at the MSZ made the decision to send emissaries on such a politically sinister mission? By what right are MSZ officials resorting to vulgar propagandist descriptions and libels?

And finally I would like to address a question to the prime minister. By what right are civil servants engaging in surveillance of a deputy, the chairman of the left-wing floor group, and disseminating in their document libels and lies? Why are neither I nor the Sejm speaker are among the addressees of this document? By what right is the MSZ playing the role of a political police inside the

country? What personnel conclusions will be drawn with regard to the civil servant-spies? Will the Belorussians, the self-government councillors, the clergy of the Orthodox Church, the activists of the left, and I hear an apology?

Thank you.

Iraqi Foreign Affairs Official Visits

*LD2212071290 Warsaw PAP in English 0325 GMT
22 Dec 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq Sa'ad 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal paid a visit to Poland today following an invitation from Undersecretary of State at Poland's Foreign Ministry Jan Majewski. The Iraqi vice minister was also received by Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

During talks at the Foreign Ministry, the Polish side expressed deep concern over the aggravating situation in the Gulf and stressed that the conflict should be solved in compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions which call on Iraq to immediately and unconditionally withdraw from Kuwait.

The talks focussed also on some aspects of bilateral relations and particularly the situation of Poles who are now in Iraq and want to come back home.

Majewski Sums Up Results of Talks

*LD2312022590 Warsaw PAP in English 1828 GMT
22 Dec 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22—"Thirty-one Poles have not received visas which would allow them to leave Iraq but we hope that soon they will be able to leave," Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski told PAP today after bidding farewell to his Iraqi counterpart Sa'ad 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal who paid a short visit to Poland.

Majewski said that Iraq pledged to continue efforts aimed at providing exit visas to all Poles who want to leave Iraq but it raised the issue of the completion of economic contracts drawn with Poland.

Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski stressed that Poland was interested in developing relations with Iraq which had recently been suspended, not by Poland's fault, but of course after the cause of the freeze has been eliminated.

*** Romanian Refugees Crowd Western Border Town**

*91P20053A Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 8-9 Dec 90 p 4*

[PAP Report: "Encampment in Slubice"]

[Text] Eight hundred to 1,000 refugees, mainly Romanian, encamp in this border town [Slubice] every day. They spend the night on stairways, [bus and railroad]

terminals, attics, and sheds. Life under such primitive conditions gives rise to the danger of outbreaks of sickness and epidemics.

The Voivodship Sanitation-Epidemiological Station wants to establish the number of foreigners staying in this area as quickly as possible, determine their immediate needs, and begin health checkups on the refugees.

EEC Ambassador on Nation's Associate Membership

*AU2312174890 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 17 Dec 90 pp 1,5*

[Interview with EEC Ambassador to Poland Alexander H. Dijckmeester by Ewa Boniecka; place and date not given: "The West Will Not Fail Poland"]

[Excerpts] [Boniecka] You are the first EEC ambassador in Warsaw since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our country and the EC in September. How do you view your mission in Poland?

[Dijckmeester] I am happy to be in Poland. I volunteered for this post. I am a Dutchman. I worked in the international business world for 20 years before I applied for a post in the EEC Commission. Let me explain that I do not represent in Poland the 12 EEC states, just the EEC Commission in Brussels, which is the EC's executive body in the economic sphere and, increasingly, also in the political sphere. The setting up of an embassy in Warsaw also shows that the EEC wants to cultivate close relations with Poland. [passage omitted]

[Boniecka] What will the conclusion of an agreement on associate membership mean for Poland in practical terms?

[Dijckmeester] It means that over the next 10 years you will be adapting your economy to EEC requirements. Poland must realize that membership of the Common Market is a two-way street, consisting of exports and imports in both directions, and a free exchange of goods, services, capital, and people. Just like Portugal or Greece before you, in a certain sense you will have to protect your weaker economy during the transitional period, or else the effects of joining the EEC will be too harsh. That is why the agreement on associate membership is so important, because, together with the Poland-EEC trade agreement signed in September 1989, it raises economic relations between Poland and the EEC to a new level. I think you will see with your own eyes how the economic life of Poland will change slowly but surely. You will also see more tourists and foreign investments. I hope your country will be politically and economically stable, because that determines the type of investments made in Poland.

[Boniecka] Do you think the Community has helped Poland sufficiently?

[Dijckmeester] The trade agreement with the EEC has already helped Poland by facilitating Polish exports to EEC markets. As far as Poland's foreign debts are concerned, the EEC Commission does not deal with this subject on a formal basis. But we do realize it is important for Poland to resolve its foreign debt problems, otherwise you cannot carry out your economic reforms. So I am sure that some kind of breakthrough in solving your debt problem will be reached next year. The Paris Club will handle this. There is one more thing: Poland, as well as other countries, are experiencing the painful economic effects of the Persian Gulf crisis. Therefore the IMF is also considering helping Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, especially because, as of 1 January 1991, these countries will no longer receive Soviet oil under the previous terms. Therefore we will help you through this difficult period. However that does not mean 1991 will be an easy year for you, even with our help. A transformation of the economy is occurring in your country; old factories may go bankrupt, and employment will rise even more. But new enterprises and jobs will appear at the same time. So there are pluses and minuses.

[Boniecka] What about opening up the EEC's borders to Poles who want to work or travel there without visas?

[Dijckmeester] The abolition of visas is outside the scope of the EEC authorities. Each individual member country decides. But there is a group of five countries, Germany, France, and Benelux, that acts jointly in this matter.

Germany wants to open up its border next year, and that will have a positive effect on other countries. [passage omitted]

Warsaw Withdraws From CMEA Defense Commission
LD2112194390 Warsaw PAP in English 1742 GMT
21 Dec 90

["Poland Quits CMEA Defence Commission"—PAP headline]

[Text] Moscow, Dec 21—Poland resigned from the participation in the work of CMEA's Defence Industry Commission and postulated the liquidation of that body.

The resignation was presented by Jan Parys, head of Poland's delegation for the commission's meeting which was held here yesterday. Parys stated that the stand is linked with Poland's regaining her military sovereignty.

Parys, general director of the main planning office, presenting the resignation said that Poland opts for meeting of the already contracted production and trade obligations on conditions that they are profitable for the enterprises and institutes assigned to fulfill them.

During the meeting the Polish side expressed the opinion that the hitherto cooperation of defence industries does not correspond with the political and economic changes which had taken place in Central and Eastern Europe in 1990.

December Revolution Anniversary Celebrated

Iliescu Delivers Speech 21 Dec

AU2112123390 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0821 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at joint Parliament session marking the first anniversary of the 1989 December revolution in Bucharest on 21 December—live]

[Summary From Poor Reception] Honored members of our legislative bodies, ladies and gentlemen: "We are celebrating the first anniversary since the victory of the Romanian revolution," a year "sanctified by the blood and sacrifices of our martyrs. We have begun to build our freedoms and to secure the inalienable democratic human rights. May the memory of the fallen heroes last forever. May their sacrifice ennoble our souls and actions, wisdom, honesty, and the boldness of our thinking.

"We have gone through more than 50 years of dictatorial regime, suppressed unrest, shattered hopes, splitting of geographical borders, and mutilation of our national history. The dictatorship that was crushed by the 1989 December revolution—the most harmful and vulgar communist totalitarianism—humiliated us not only because of the poverty, arbitrary actions, and chaos, which led to material misery, but also because of the daily lies, the perversion of our conscience, and because of moral squalor.

"Our people, however, did not only have the strength to survive, they were able to rise to struggle. In honoring the memory of the heroes who fell in the Romanian revolution, in paying homage to those who preserve in their bodies the suffering during the days and nights of the hot December of 1989, in showing respect and gratitude to all those who raised their voices to denounce the dictatorship, and in greeting our country's youth—the spark that ignited the flame—we cannot help noting—with a clear sense of pride—that the overthrow of totalitarianism is the merit of the whole Romanian nation, of the people's rising up as one to struggle, thus making the victory of the revolution irreversible within an overwhelming national consensus.

"Honored audience, the revolution accomplished by the Romanian people is part and parcel—with its own characteristics—of the series of antitotalitarian and anti-communist movements in Central and Eastern Europe. Undoubtedly, a year after the revolution, its original characteristics, the factors that unleashed it, and the sense lent to it by its active forces are clearer to us today. The characteristics of our revolution on the whole—namely, its explosive nature leading to an accelerated progress like a sweeping wave which overthrew the fortress of the dictatorship of the former sociopolitical system—are explained by the completely special situation of the Romanian society after decades of accumulated tensions and unresolvable contradictions.

"All this formed a very complicated scenario that unleashed a tremendous driving energy that took the form of a truly people's eruption—the only force able to pulverize the armor of the most cruel system of totalitarian oppression in this part of Europe. Let us not forget that Ceausescu's regime mercilessly exploited the Romanian people up to the critical stage when material deprivation and the atmosphere of their daily existence damaged even the biological nature of the nation. This led to a serious deterioration of the whole social system with the negative psychological and moral effects which by and by led to our people's silent dissatisfaction.

"In all countries around us one could note a strong trend toward democratic changes, while Ceausescu's regime—more and more isolated at the international level—consolidated its antidemocratic and repressive routine, thus amplifying—to the maximum—the characteristics of the established system of one-man domination. He succeeded in taking hold of all power levers and in neutralizing any trend toward change that was born in the country. He was able to annihilate—through brutal restrictions, lies, and intimidation—any organized form of opposition.

"It seems to us, therefore, that there are absolutely no grounds to affirm that the Romanian revolution was the consequence of a plot," staged by "some protagonists from among those in power, who were interested in a state coup." "Such attempts undoubtedly existed; however, it is clear that they had no chance to be successful and did not represent significant factors in the outbreak and progress of events. On the contrary, a widespread revolution movement—a mass movement—took place" including "all social categories to oppose the dictatorship head-on and within the framework of an impressive consensus. This affirmation, however, does not neglect the contribution of political dissidents and it does not neglect the significance of signs of collective opposition.

"We have to emphasize the process of the intellectual preparation of the revolution and the fact that through some attitudes—intellectual manifestations and artistic works—the society's critical awareness toward its own situation was preserved, thus giving birth to the spirit of the masses that is necessary" to lead to a "revolution." In the "situation of a barrack-type state, the individual protests by a number of figures can be viewed as a heroic manifestation of civic and patriotic awareness and as an act of willful courage that deserves our respect and should be honored."

"Undoubtedly, the Jiu Valley miners' uprising of 1977 and the revolt of the Brasov workers in 1987 were of great" significance, being "extensive, country-wide manifestations, which not only made economic demands, but also questioned the political foundation of Ceausescu's dictatorship and his repressive and antidemocratic system. The affirmation that the revolution was confiscated is equally aberrant. A revolution cannot be confiscated and the May elections confirmed our people's decisive option in support of those who represented the

guarantor for the achievement of the objectives proclaimed by the December revolution. We could sooner talk about the systematic attempt by some forces to divert the fundamental course of the revolution from its profoundly popular objective toward narrow interests which are at variance with the fundamental idea proclaimed by the revolution: The people's sovereignty.

"Romania is the only country in the former socialist bloc that freed itself from the fetters of the communist totalitarianism through a people's revolution, a revolution that involved military confrontation and an impressive number of human sacrifices. Through these characteristics, it differs from the other revolutionary processes in our neighboring countries and acquires a tragic dimension. It meant a sudden and radical break with the former hierarchical structures. The legitimate revolt of the Timisoara people and the decisive actions of Bucharest's youth on the tragic evening of 21 December" represented the united force of the people. "The impressive rise of the workers at all industrial platforms in Bucharest in the morning of 22 December decided the victory of the revolution.

"The fact that the repressive apparatus abandoned the dictator and that the Army and the bodies of the Ministry of Interior sided with the revolution, constituted a key element in the predestined progress of the events that followed. We have to appreciate the decisive contribution made by the Army, by some forces of the Ministry of Interior, and by some elements who understood—some of them sooner, others somewhat later—where their place was in this confrontation. They participated in isolating the dictator, in annihilating his decisionmaking centers, and in the elimination of the groups" which were active "even after the victory of the revolution on 22 December.

"One of the slogans of those days was 'the Army is with us.' During those dramatic and bloody days of confrontation and insecurity, television marked its moment of glory—it was the beating heart of the entire nation's spirit, it represented the link with the country, and fulfilled a truly revolutionary task.

"In retrospect, today we can say that the unfolding of events would have been different had there been a more effective coordination between military units, the central Army command, the forces of the Ministry of Interior, and the groups of civilians who acted to defend the targets that were attacked. In an atmosphere of confusion contradictory orders were given—some of them fictitious ones—rumors and false information were spread, as well as confusing information that could not be verified at that point. Numerous emergency situations emerged" which were not effectively dealt with. "We must admit, however, that the revolution confronted us with absolutely new situations for which no one was prepared. As always in such situations, the last word will be spoken by history and the future generations, which will weigh events from a perspective we cannot have today.

"Our revolution stirred a wave of international sympathy which was manifest through moving gestures and through tremendous material aid. This aid was an important moral support in those bloody days, yet full of hope. The Romanians felt that they were not alone in their struggle and that they could rely on the support and adherence of the international community.

"Allow me to convey a message of sincere gratitude, on behalf of the entire Romanian Government, to all governments, to the Red Cross societies, nongovernmental and civilian organizations, and to the localities and citizens of various countries, who proved active solidarity with our dramatic efforts to forge our free destiny." [applause]

"Our people experienced this revolution as an act of salvation with feelings of profound inner liberation. The revolution has changed our souls; the sacrifice of our heroes, the sacrifices entailed by the elimination of the dictatorship, and the courage of those who actually made this revolution will always remain in our memory and the memory of future generations as an example of dignity and courage and as an expression of the moral force which the desire for freedom stirs within human beings. The revolution marked a break with the former totalitarian communist system, thus opening up a new historic road for the Romanian nation.

"The fundamental objectives of the revolution were summarized in the 10 programmatic points of the communique of the National Salvation Front Council broadcast to the nation in the night of 22 December. It referred to abandoning the leading role of a single party and the establishment of a democratic pluralist system; the organization of free elections; the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial power; the drafting of a new constitution; the restructuring of the whole national economy on the basis of criteria of efficiency and profitability; the elimination of bureaucratic administration methods of centralized economic management; the promotion of free initiative and competence in the management of all economic sectors; the restructuring of agriculture and support for agricultural small-holders; stopping the destruction of villages; the reorganization of education in accordance with present-day requirements and reestablishing it on democratic and humane bases and placing our national culture; press; radio; and television on a new basis; respecting the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities and ensuring full equality of rights between them and the Romanians; organizing trade, proceeding from the main requirement of meeting the daily needs of the population; promoting, at the international level, good neighborliness, friendship, and peace in the world, thus integrating Romania in the process of building a united Europe; and finally it refers to promoting a domestic and foreign policy in the service of developing" the human being, "complete observance of human rights and freedoms, including freedom of travel.

"In retrospect, we can say that all these objectives proclaimed in December 1989 have been promoted

consistently—some of them have been accomplished, others are in the process of being achieved. They require great efforts in order to be achieved. They also prove the profound, radical, and irreversible nature of the Romanian revolution both at the level of democratizing political activity and establishing the economy on new bases, and at the level of the moral rebirth of Romanian society.

"Romania's transition to a democratic society went through two distinctive stages, apart from the 20 May ballot. The urgent task of the new power body was to reorganize our country on different bases and to embark on establishing a state based on the rule of law. At the same time, measures were taken to improve the people's standard of living in keeping with what was possible in the economy at that point. The new bodies of provisional power, especially after the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, encountered difficulties in implementing objectives when suspicion and mistrust appeared to degenerate into strong political tension, which ended with dramatic events and acts of violence that had nothing to do with the spirit of the revolution, and which all of us regret.

"Notwithstanding this, new political parties appeared in this period. The power institutions were reformed. The new structure of the state of law was forecast. Society as a whole changed its image. Many substantial changes took place in a concentrated way and at a rapid pace, with vital requirements overlapping each other, a fact that led to additional difficulties in the adjustment of institutions and human beings. The consensus that was initially obvious within the provisional structures—generated by the desire of all forces to break away from the past—by and by led to the emergence of differences, which are natural in a democratic society, and also to differences regarding the strategy for breaking with the past. The negative aspect in our evolution was the emergence of extreme tension, instigations, and acts of violence. One cannot talk of an event staged by the provisional power—an assertion often made in slanderous propaganda by some groups or organizations. We cannot accuse anyone of this situation; we have to assess the facts as they are, leaving the task of revealing the sources and factors of these events to tomorrow's historians. One thing is certain, in the first half of this year we lived in an atmosphere of tension, of mutual accusations and verbal and physical violence, which—to a large extent—sapped our strength and prevented us from ensuring a normal framework for constructive debate in connection with the basic problems of sociopolitical reconstruction.

"All this is coupled with the numerous ethnic conflicts in Transylvania, where the explosion of certain tension, pent up over the years and exacerbated by extremist slogans, and the manipulation of sensitive issues created extreme situations that affected even the united structure of the Romanian state.

"Romania is determined to promote and observe all the rights expected by international norms for minorities. At the same time it will reject any claims on its integrity and sovereignty. We are for peaceful coexistence, in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect, and for human solidarity among all this country's citizens, whose interests can only be convergent, around the primary goal—the prosperity of the common fatherland.

"The tensions in our political and social life have obviously had a negative impact on the process of political democratization, on the socioeconomic activity, and on the moral climate" in our country. "They also blackened Romania's image in the world and led to an occasionally exaggerated reaction from the West, a reaction of suspicion and distrust in our stability and in Romania's democratic course. In spite of all this, before the elections, and particularly afterwards, significant changes have occurred in our society's life. The organization of the first free elections in Romania on 20 May, after half a century of dictatorship, was a huge success of the young democracy. The participation of the masses, of the country's citizens in this ballot, emphasized the people's endorsement" for "the renewing processes" and the "democratic foundations" in our country.

The "13-15 June events brought about a true assault" on "certain institutions," with the "deployment of numerically insignificant forces, but extremely vicious and well organized. Drawing on part of the former demonstrators in University Square—either as simple onlookers or as accidental participants—these forces managed to hold the capital city under terror, to attack and set fire to certain basic buildings of the state of law, and to question the result of the entire post-revolutionary effort of building" a new political system.

"The inefficiency of the law-enforcing agencies, which proved to be unable to ensure and reestablish law and order, and the real threat to the state governed by the rule of law and to the choice for democracy that was made in the May elections, amplified by the lack of proper information about the true situation and by various contradictory rumors—all this explains the appeal made to the people to come to the assistance of the law-enforcing agencies. This is no justification for the regrettable excesses and the reprehensible violence on 14 and 15 June. The fact that even now, six months after these events, we are still not in the clear about the true sequence of events at that time and about the authors and organizers" of those incidents, "the fact that the police and prosecutor's office investigation has proceeded slowly, inefficiently," and that "the inquiry of the parliamentary commission has only now begun to draft the final report"—all this has meant that—"at least psychologically, but also due the reactivation of certain groups—the terrorist attack of 13 June should still obsess us today." It is necessary "to completely clarify those events and find the truth about those directly involved—regardless of who they may have been—and to establish their guilt beyond doubt.

"The June events were the most serious attack against the Romanian revolution and a desperate attempt to halt the democratic process." The whole truth should also come out about other controversial events. "The inquiry organs of the Ministry of Interior and of the Prosecutor's Office" should "give priority to and professionally investigate those responsible for the sequence of bloody events last December, the March events in Tirgu Mures, and the June events in Bucharest.

"The short, but rich history of the six months since the May elections, the functioning of the institutions of the new political system—the Parliament, presidency, and the government" is the victory of the efforts to "build the modern Romanian society." In all this period, "we witnessed the development of true parliamentary life in Romania and a real dialogue of the political forces represented in the Deputies' Assembly and the Senate. As a matter of fact, the busy legislative activity carried out so far is telling proof of this." Each political party "is free to project its political life and to independently choose its mode of action, in a democratic and legal framework. Respect for the convictions of the dialogue partners can and must be learned, thus reactivating our people's spirit of tolerance. Wisdom and reason should prevail over impulsiveness, thus proving that there is a road to understanding which we can find together. As I have already said, I have trust in the people's political sense and moral strength as well as in their ability to face hardships with dignity and refute extremist and violent manifestations that would pave the way to unforeseeable developments" and "increase the chain of suffering." We must build a "truly democratic" society and a "state of law," in keeping with the wishes of the electorate at the last elections.

The "reform program adopted by the Parliament" is based on a "collective effort" and outlines the "strategy of the transition to a market economy." It presupposes the "replacement of the economic structures of the centralized state system and the abolition of centralism." We are preparing "a package of laws regulating the transformation of state enterprises into trade companies and autonomous societies," within the process of the "privatization of the economy." We also laid the foundation for the "demonopolization of production" and initiated steps "to restrict or remove" state control in the field of foreign trade.

We will create a "true market of labor, capable of promoting competence and of appreciating and rewarding true professional values. We will thus lay the foundation for a key restructuring of the national economy."

"Of course, in this current stage of reform, all these aspects belong to the realm of prospects, rather than reality. The very fact that, in such a short time, Romania succeeded in creating such prospects, however, is undoubtedly a success of the transition program. At the same time, we should realize that the fulfillment of this

program, particularly the implementation of the envisioned economic and financial mechanism" is a long-term process. "We have to implement our possibilities" in the next stage of the reform program. "Implementation is the most difficult thing," because of various "deficiencies" in the economy or "misunderstandings," such as those surrounding the "indispensable" decision on "price liberalization," which was accompanied by various "measures taken by the state for the protection of the population.

In the coming months, "we will conclude the process of organizing the new trading companies," concurrently with the "reform of the banking and credit system, and the creation of an authentic market of goods and capital." Likewise, "we will continue to further support the privatization process, developing the private sector in small business, trade, tourism, and services, and in large-scale industry." All these newly started steps must be further developed in the coming period. "The first stage of the reform concentrated on the macroeconomic transformation of the inherited huge industrial complex, with the primary goal of breaking up the structures and mechanisms of the centralized system" and "replacing it with market mechanisms."

While we are "proceeding to the second stage, we have to ensure that reform penetrates the intimate structure of industrial enterprises," by "restructuring the characteristics of the production and working processes," by "rearranging labor relations," and by "working out new incentives for labor," through a new law on salaries. "One cannot operate on the basis of the old rules of the socialist system in a market economy. One cannot preserve the old principles of uniform egalitarianism. Likewise, one should no longer ignore the spirit of initiative, professional competence, and the personal value of each man. One should create new structures of labor, human motivation, and work so that macroeconomic changes can be applied.

"Generally speaking, 1991 will be a decisive year in the period of transition because it is the test of reality for what was only in the stage of planning or legislative initiative in the first months after the revolution. This text can only be passed with the support and cooperation of all the people, not just to overcome social tensions. Social tensions still will exist" for the entire transition period. "No society can be changed against the will of its citizens or without their active cooperation. There is no group of technicians or politicians, no matter how competent or well meaning, who can achieve such a revolutionization of society without the support of the majority of citizens."

Indeed, "the constant dialogue of the legislative or executive power with the trade unions and professional organizations should become more efficient, in step with the restructuring of the civic society itself in an ensemble of bodies capable of mobilizing the citizens to a collective and constructive effort. This presupposes a greater openness on the part of the justice system, government,

and administration. I must confess that, in this respect, we have proved to be rather awkward. One could feel our inexperience and lack of adequate means in organizing effective communication with the public or with the institutions of the civic society in connection with the intentions, targets, and contents of government decisions. A large part of the social tensions of the current period could have been avoided if the political or administrative message had reached the people on time, without distortions.

"On the foreign plane, the year since the revolution was rich in events. We all know the importance of the processes currently taking place in Europe. First of all, Europe is undergoing a basic change. The bases of the new European structures are being laid today, structures that will dominate the start of the next millennium. We, therefore, are not indifferent to the place we are going to eventually take in this new order. We want this place to be up to our human and material potential, to our long-standing diplomatic traditions, and to the country's real potential within Europe.

"At the same time, we are aware of the fact that it will not be easy to achieve this target due to both the fact that our country itself is currently undergoing profound and complex internal changes, and to the inevitably competitive nature of the emergence of the new European structures. We should never forget that other countries also want to secure for themselves an ever better place in the new continental and global architecture. In these circumstances, we will have to cooperate with those whose interests are on par with ours and we will have to find the best formula to accommodate those with contrary interests.

"In these circumstances, Romanian foreign policy is called upon to make maximum use of the country's potential and traditions. It should show flexibility and adaptability as well as imagination, resolution, and an ability to anticipate events. Freed of ideological constraints and the unachievable demands of the communist system, foreign policy should pursue national interests, thus meeting the Romanian people's requirements.

"A review of the international activity carried out by Romania in the short year since the revolution emphasizes once more the existence of two distinct stages, which however form a coherent whole. Thus, in the first stage—being naturally concerned with important and pressing domestic problems—we were obliged to only react to foreign stimuli. In spite of all this, Romania has managed to remove a number of obstacles and reservations artificially and unilaterally raised by the old regime. As the new political system has acquired a concrete shape and we have embarked upon a relatively normal course of life—with the transition to working out the legislative framework of the reform—Romanian foreign policy is entering a new stage and becoming more active, in a desire to make up for the initiatives we were forced to give up in the previous period.

"This stir to activity was reflected in the obvious intensification and multiplication of our foreign contacts at all levels. Everyone is familiar with the active and constructive stand adopted by our country in its capacity as Security Council chairman in August with regard to the serious events in the Gulf region; likewise, our initiatives on the Balkans are also well known. In spite of important material losses, estimated at around 3 billion dollars, Romania did not hesitate to join, from the first hours, the countries condemning the military action against Kuwait, thus making a decisive contribution to the adoption of the first Security Council resolutions, which expressed the protest of the international community against the use of force against another state.

"Concerning the Balkans, Romania proposed the creation of a Balkan forum for security and cooperation, with the goal of expanding and coordinating the various cooperation ventures in the area, thus connecting it to the great European processes.

"The most intensive diplomatic activity, however, was made during the three large multilateral international summits in New York, Tokyo, and Paris occasioned by the special session on children and the proceeding of the (746th) UN General Assembly session, the crowning of the 45th emperor of Japan, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. On these occasions, contacts were established at the highest level, interrupted contacts were resumed, and existing contacts were extended.

"The same end was served by the prime minister's frequent international contacts. In this respect, one should point out the signing of the trade agreement with the European Community, the visits to a number of European countries and the NATO headquarters, and his recent tour through Latin America.

"In their turn, the foreign minister's contacts with counterparts in a number of important countries—the United States, the USSR, Turkey, Greece, and France—have made an active contribution to Romania's involvement in the overall great changes in Europe and the world.

"One should also point out the efficiency of the contacts and activity of our parliamentary representatives as well as of the talks conducted with foreign parliamentary delegations in Romania.

"Generally speaking, one should not forget that Romania started on this road with the serious handicap of the international isolation brought about by the Ceausescu regime, and later by the unilateral interpretation of the June events. Romania has made important efforts to cope with this situation. One can say that, by and large, it managed to remove quite a few obstacles, thus substantially improving its international image. Most of the official signals received of late justify such an assessment. Thus, 1991 opens with important international prospects for our country, in spite of quite a few difficulties.

"In the context of our foreign relations, we are paying great attention to the ties with our neighbors and the evolution of these ties. Our relations with Hungary are marked by certain elements of tension, mainly generated by different interpretations regarding the status and situation of the Magyar minority in Romania. Although these are internal problems pertaining to a given state's relations with its own citizens, we again declare that our country ensures the necessary conditions for the all-around assertion of the Hungarian nationality, as well as of other nationalities, in accordance with relevant international standards. We would like these standards to be equally observed by our neighbors, vis-a-vis the Romanian population.

"Concerning the relations between our two countries, we expressed our readiness to organize bilateral summit meetings with the leadership of our neighboring country—alternatively in Budapest and Bucharest, or vice-versa—beginning with the first half of next year, to jointly find solutions to problems of mutual interest.

"Within the context of our overall relations with our neighbors and other countries, in general, the ties with the Soviet Union are of a special nature—not only due to their scope and diversity, but also because of their importance for both countries. We know that our eastern neighbors are currently faced with difficult problems, on which the fate of the Union itself depends, just as we are confronted with our problems—the importance of which you are all aware of. That is why, we want to emphasize, on this occasion, too, our readiness to further improve and expand bilateral relations with the Soviet Union in all fields, on new bases, in accordance with the changes that have occurred in our countries, to the benefit of our peoples and of stability in this part of the continent.

"We attach particular significance to our relations with the Republic of Moldova. They have a two-fold dimension. On the one hand, they have a highly emotional value, they are a matter of heart. We plan to give free rein to our feelings by expanding our ties with this republic at all levels and in all spheres. [applause]

"On the other hand, when stating our positions, we should take into account political realities and state interests as well as overall international regulations which have an all-European validity. We trust that those who today represent the sovereign will of the Republic of Moldova will be able to find a way for the full assertion of its national existence. We are convinced that the evolution of events will also facilitate an optimal resolution of the problem of the respective territories, in accordance with the historical truth. [applause]

"Even from the perspective of our foreign policy requirements, moreover, it is absolutely necessary, at the domestic level, that the country should make firm progress, in a climate of peace and stability, along the road of democracy and reform—the surest base for promoting our international activity and protecting the Romanian people's external interests. The hardships we

are facing this winter give us cause for justified concern: be it the lack of raw materials and the lack of correlation between resources and capacities, or economic restructuring; the specter of unemployment, price liberalization with the inherent excesses in this respect, the lack of foodstuffs and other staples, or the lack of medicines and other necessary things for children.

"Moreover, we must bear the huge burden of a bankrupt economy, which is gradually ridding itself of the constraints suffocating it. We are carrying on the inertia of old structures and the immobility of an apparatus consolidated over a period of 45 years and backed up by an outdated mentality, in whose shadow corruption, nepotism, lack of responsibility and professionalism, incompetence, and the shunning of work flourished and proliferated.

"Romania's renewal begins with the transformation of each of us, while the rebirth of Romanian society requires the utilization of the entire human potential available in our country—the maximum utilization of intellectual and scientific creativity, of dynamism and the desire of young people to assert themselves, and the experience and knowledge of the old. The intellectuals represent the creative energy of a nation. We have the necessary intellectuals available for our country's reconstruction. They have to be reactivated, awakened from their indifference, and utilized in all areas. Competence should not be turned into a slogan. Established specialists and those in the process of becoming specialists have to be encouraged and have to be appropriately recognized socially. Scientific research has to be reconsidered rapidly and given new perspective. Education at all levels has to be given a new content and new dynamics, as well as a new quality in accordance with the requirements which life and current scientific and technological development are placing before the new generations.

"We cannot be indifferent to the exodus of Romanians from our country—especially young people, the ones who lit the flame of the revolution and the ones whose task it is to guarantee Romania the future it deserves and for which it hopes. We are aware that we cannot offer young people equal material conditions as the developed countries, but, at the same time, we cannot help saying that people of intellectual value have been and continue to be people of great moral value who have served their people and the country, who have known their country's difficulties and desires, who have lent it power and strength at crucial times, and who have brought it fame and have ensured its confidence into the future. [applause]

"This is why I appeal to young and old in this country; this is why I call on the intellectuals, workers, and farmers; and this is why I appeal to reason, but also to your heart so that, together, through the effort of each of us, we contribute to building a new Romania. I also appeal to all political forces of the parliamentary majority and of the opposition, inside and outside of parliament, to celebrate the first year since the

December revolution with the common determination to jointly build—by mutually respecting our opinions—the necessary bridge for uniting all efforts, all minds, and all skills in order to overcome the difficulties in our country and to solidly build our future.

"An important role in consolidating the moral unity of our people has been played by the church throughout our history. In the spirit of tolerance, understanding, and of the moral precepts of all religious cults, the church has been and has to be one of the factors of cohesion and spiritual regeneration of the Romanian society. The December revolution permitted Romania to make up for a great part of the historical lagging behind imposed by the communist regime. Furthermore, the economic reform of the past months permits us to stay in the race for the reestablishment of Europe. The chance we have is unique and we are responsible to ourselves, to our children, and to the future of our nation for the way we will defend them.

"In conclusion—with all the joy of the tradition reborn after so many years—permit me to wish you from the bottom of my heart—and let all of us wish ourselves—Merry Christmas, together with loved ones, and a better and happier New Year for all of you. Many happy returns!" [applause]

Roman Speaks to Parliament

*AU2112130090 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0921 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[“Text” of speech by Prime Minister Petre Roman, leader of the National Salvation Front at the joint Parliament session on the anniversary of the 1989 December revolution in Bucharest on 21 December—live]

[Text] During the night of 21 December 1989, we pledged to live freely and that if we had to die, we would die because we had defeated fear. Some were never able to see that we had eliminated tyranny and gained freedom. Their sacrifices, however, initiated and lit up the sacred fire of the people's wrath and, on 22 December, hundreds, thousands, and then millions of free people filled the streets and the squares of the towns they had regained.

The whole lie, meanness, lack of belief, and crookedness of a mind that called—every hour of our lives—for humiliation, blind obedience, work without love, and a way of thinking ordered by true sinners, by those who do not believe in any god, collapsed.

That mind could have been a clown that provoked the healthy laughter of the crowd. It should have been like a savage wolf, killed by the clubs of the vigilant shepherds of Miorita [a sheep in a famous Romanian folk ballad]. It was not that simple. It was an edifice that was built on the body of the country and the shoulders of the people. It was a system of the most perfidious slavery, a system that was built in the name of the people, in the name of

social justice, and of equality among people, while all of them were violated, in the minutest detail, by people who despised the first right of the citizen—that is, to build his own life, because he has only one life.

In the real order of the world only truth is eternal. The temporary aberration in the history of our nation, the dictatorship that reduced man to the situation of a soldier of an army which lacks knowledge, conscience, and a banner must be overcome today in the only true way that society has established, namely democracy.

We—those who have irreversibly embarked on that road, now, when we have to face so many difficulties, when we have to rebuild the economy from its foundation, when we must grant equal and real chances to all those who work and create, and when we must really come to the assistance of those who have worked and have the right to live honestly—have the supreme duty to create a modern educational system and to make use of the immense cultural resources of our people, and we believe that for us, somehow, the heroism of the Romanian revolution must continue to exist.

That spirit that is always troubled by the thirst for truth, that unparalleled talent that expresses the astonishing ability of the Romanians to love, suffer, and die with eyes wide open is well expressed by [Romanian writer] Panait Istrati's words: There is only one type of heroism in the world, that is, to see the world the way it really is and still love it.

In these moments when we recall the hot end of December of the blessed year 1989, please, be generous and grant me the right not to talk too much about the political movement that I represent, that is about the National Salvation Front [FSN]. The front was born together with the revolution. I believe that there is only one legitimate question that arises here: Has it been devoted to the people's sovereignty, the sovereignty that was gained by the people. With profound conviction and absolute sincerity I say: Yes, it has been, and it still is.

This political formation bears a very great responsibility on its shoulders. It is very difficult to find the best solution during this difficult period of transition. We say, however, what the first Christians used to say: God, give us the serenity to accept what we cannot change, the courage to change what we can, and the wisdom to be able to distinguish between these two things. Thank you.

PNT-cd Leader Ratiu Speaks

*AU2112150590 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0956 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Speech by Ion Ratiu, leader of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party at the Parliament's solemn session on the Romanian revolution anniversary on 21 December—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, heads of parliamentary groups, members of government, ladies and gentlemen, parliamentarians: I am deeply moved that after so many years, this year I am living in my own country. [passage indistinct].

The revolution, which started in Timisoara a year ago, had a profound motivation, not only a moral one but also a legal motivation because the declaration on human rights clearly mentions the right of each nation to overthrow its tyrant. Some do not like the truth, but we have to mention it. In December 1989 the Romanian people certainly rose against the dictator, but, even more vehemently, they rose against the system that produced him, that is communism. In a gallery of communist tyrants Ceausescu might be worse than many others or maybe not as bad as some others. No matter where he is in the scale of infamy, however, Nicolae Ceausescu was one of the most odious tyrants which that system created naturally. [passage omitted]

According to the latest estimates, communism destroyed more than 100 million lives throughout this century. Communism put more than 1 billion people in jail. As I once mentioned in an interview, the period of communism, as it was conceived and practiced, will go down in history as a madness, such as the Children's Crusade, or Savonarola of Florence, when so many masterpieces were destroyed. Thus, the system should be demolished and not just a certain tyrant whom the system can replace with a more enlightened one. This was the significance of the Romanian revolution.

The December revolution, however, remains a revolution of enigmas: The martyr heroes are known while their assassins are unknown.

On 22 December 1989 we all swore that the country was going to be pulled out forever from the economic and political bankruptcy, where communism led it. Now, however, a year after the revolution, the country is facing a danger which is identical with the one in 1945. What have we done? We exchanged the blood of children killed last winter for the disaster that is knocking at our door. I wholeheartedly believe that today the opposition becomes guilty if it does not understand that it should be united. Right now, the ambition of each organization and of each party is to become the center around which all the others should gather; this is an antipatriotic act. If we do not know who killed the martyr-heroes during the revolution, we know why they were killed. Because they wanted freedom, because they wanted to live without being worried about tomorrow, and wanted right and justice. What has been achieved through their sacrifices?

Mr. Iliescu and Mr. Roman say that there have been great achievements in this country since they started leading it, that the Romanians can keep their passports at home. Well, what can they do with it if they do not have money to travel? They say that the emergence of opposition parties has been authorized. What kind of efficient activity are they allowed in the Parliament and

outside the Parliament? They say that public manifestations are free but how free can they be if counterdemonstrations are organized at the highest level and as long as threats are widely practiced? They say that the country's economy is oriented toward a market economy. How? Through laws that obstruct and hamper it? Through a chaos of the economic strategy which started to deepen before the revolution, or through the so called price liberalization, the moment for which was erroneously chosen and which represents only a price increase—that is, a raid in the pocket of all citizens. Where is the necessary social protection? How could anybody believe that price liberalization could be a stage prior to privatization? What has privatization meant so far in our case? It meant the appearance of some private shops and bars [word indistinct]. The representatives of the current leadership, when their arguments fail, appeal to the last—indeed the last—argument, that they were authorized through the 20 May elections.

History, at its own time, maybe sooner than later, will exactly and irrevocably show the situation as it was, as history made it, although, oh God, so late for the 1946 elections. Yes, history will tell that the election results of 20 May was achieved through two types of fraud: moral fraud during the electoral campaign and real electoral fraud on 20 May.

On Sunday, 16 December, I listened to the country's president talking about his affection for and solid connections with Timisoara and Timis county. I was astonished because only a few minutes before his speech I saw on the same screen at least 100,000 Timisoara citizens demonstrating against him. One day later, on 17 December, the Parliament commemorated the revolution that started in Timisoara. The moment was registered showing new wide demonstration in the town of heroes. What is this Parliament, gentlemen? Who are we? What kind of Romanian Parliament can be the one in which Timisoara is placed against the pillar of infamy? When the first anniversary of the Timisoara's sacrifices were commemorated, talks were held here about manipulated demonstrators. The Timisoara citizens of a year ago are heroes while the demonstrators of today are the shame of the country. What kind of parliament is it where the country's heroes are treated like simple delinquents?

Ladies and gentlemen, do not forget that you are here in this forum, in this Parliament, where you scold Timisoara precisely because a year ago there was a Timisoara; otherwise we would not be here. Who has the right to scold. What kind of Romanian Parliament is it where a person, who went through terrible torture and suffered from communism is grossly slandered. Mr. Ticu Dumitrescu's [chairman of the Association of Former Political Detainees] ideas are not to your liking. Mr. Ticu Dumitrescu does not approve of me. You can fight his ideas, but do not slander the person just because you do not like what he says.

Ladies and gentlemen, the country is suffering. Governors or governed, oppressors or oppressed, all Romanians are unhappy today. I am not telling you stories. Our country used to be a happy country. Communism destroyed it. Communism destroyed the person and destroyed his internal integrity, his self respect, honesty, correctness—that is what I have found in this country. [passage omitted]

I believe that it is my duty that on behalf of my party—that is the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—while paying homage to those who fell for the dawn of a new era, I should be the echo of their wish: We ask for the resignation of the government and the removal of all former nomenklatura members from the helm of the country and to you ladies and gentlemen, I wish happy holidays and a happy New Year. [applause]

Revolution Anniversary Results in Demonstrations

Antigovernment Protests in Timisoara 21 Dec

AU2112134890 Paris AFP in English 1312 GMT
21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 21 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of anti-government demonstrators gathered here and in the western city of Timisoara Friday to mark the first anniversary of the revolt that toppled Nicolae Ceausescu. As they gathered, President Ion Iliescu issued an appeal in Parliament for unity.

An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 people shouting "Down with Iliescu" and "Down with communism" swelled University Square in downtown Bucharest to commemorate last year's anti-communist uprising. Most of the demonstrators wore black as a sign of mourning. They carried flowers and lighted candles and massed at the foot of a podium set up in front of the National Theatre. Some demonstrators carried Romanian flags with a hole in the middle, recalling how demonstrators cut out the communist emblem during the December 1989 revolution.

In the late morning, the December 21 Association organized a Roman Catholic mass in the capital's Romana Square and in front of small altars erected on the boulevard leading to University Square in memory of people killed in last year's revolt. Demonstrators later went to the so-called heroes cemetery in a southern suburb of the capital.

Meanwhile in Timisoara, where the uprising began, almost 10,000 people gathered in Opera Square to mark the demonstrations in Bucharest and other cities a year ago that led to Ceausescu's ouster on December 22 and execution three days later. That demonstration, also organized by Civic Alliance, resembled anti-government protests that have shaken the city daily since Saturday. Anti-government strikes were also continuing in Timisoara. About 30 of the city's largest enterprises are on strike. Eleven of them have declared an indefinite strike, while the others are staging go-slows, a trade union

spokesman said. Organizers said that what transpired in Timisoara during the day would depend on events in Bucharest.

Meanwhile President Ion Iliescu, in an address to Parliament, appealed to opposition forces to unite and help build a new Romania. The coming year, he said, would be "decisive for the transition to a market economy" and test "the results of reform." However "this test cannot be passed without the support and cooperation of the entire population", Mr. Iliescu said, and it was only by "respecting all opinions" that Romanians could "build the future together".

Aiming at critics who accuse the government of having hijacked the December 1989 revolution, he said, "A revolution cannot be confiscated". He added: "the May elections confirmed the public's decisive choice supporting the guarantors of the December objectives". The elections maintained Mr. Iliescu in office despite widespread criticism that his administration included many former communists.

Civic Alliance Holds Rally

AU2112183990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1806 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—On Friday, December 21, at noon, the Revolution Square in Timisoara hosted a meeting of the Civic Alliance in Timisoara as part of the commemoration of a year since the December 1989 revolution. Speaking at the meeting were representatives of nonpolitical organisations, associations and leagues as well as leaders of trade union organisations now on strike. During the meeting held peacefully, those present in front of the Opera House chanted antipresidential, antigovernmental and anti-communist slogans. At 15.15 hours the meeting concluded in peace and order.

The atmosphere in Timisoara is quiet, people are busy making preparations to celebrate Christmas.

Iliescu's Resignation Demanded

AU2212151090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0226 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/12/1990—The first to speak in the meeting staged by the Civic Alliance in Bucharest were some of last December's wounded or relatives of those who were killed then.

Among the speakers we mention Marilena Rotaru and Traian Andronic from the Television Free Trade Union, a representative of the Popular Front of Molodva, Sorin Rosca Stanescu and Stelian Tanase.

In their addresses, the speakers at the meeting paid homage to the heroic sacrifice of the martyrs killed in that square of Bucharest while fighting against totalitarianism and communist dictatorship, for the victory of freedom and democracy in Romania.

The speakers voiced accusations at the country's present condition and demanded that light be made about the events which took place starting last December and that those responsible for the revolution heroes' death be identified.

The slogans of the meeting are: "Down with the Securitate," "General strike," "Down with Iliescu," "Resign," "The truth about 16-22."

Wreaths were laid at the heroes' triptych in the University Square.

The University Square meeting continues.

Rally Held in University Square 21 Dec

*AU2312143990 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] At this time, in University Square, groups of Bucharest inhabitants continue to block road traffic. Throughout the afternoon and evening, up to 1900, when the organizers announced the conclusion of the rally, a commemorative meeting organized by the Civic Alliance was held in the square. From the rostrum in front of the National Theater, the rally was addressed by people wounded in the December 1989 revolution and relatives of those who fell then in University Square and other Bucharest places. Prayers for the peaceful rest of the young martyrs were spoken by Father (Galeris).

The various speakers who addressed the rally paid homage to the heroic gesture of those to rise against totalitarianism and the communist dictatorship and for the victory of freedom and democracy in Romania. The speakers criticized the state of affairs in the country and asked for light to be thrown into all the events that took place in the country beginning with December 1989. The participants in the rally chanted slogans against the Securitate, demanded the resignation of the government, the country's president, and the Parliament, and called for a general strike. Certain pro-monarchy slogans could be heard.

Before the rally started, wreaths were laid at the heroes' place in University Square on behalf of several leagues and organizations from Bucharest and the country.

Before the rally organized by the Civic Alliance, a commemorative gathering took place in University Square at the initiative of the 21 December Association. During this rally of the 21 December Association, several participants were attacked in Romana Square by a group of people carrying antigovernmental and antipresidential banners.

Rally Held in Brasov 21 Dec

*AU2212152290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0355 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/12/1990—On Friday the 'December 1989 Brasov' Association staged a commemorative meeting in the Town Hall Square to pay

homage to the heroes of the December revolution. One day before and on the morning of the day the meeting was scheduled papers were distributed throughout the town comprising also an appeal of the association, with the motto "freedom, truth, justice." Although the appeal ended with the invitation that the inhabitants of Brasov take part in the meeting at 14.00 hrs, at 15.00 hrs there were hardly 300 people in the square to whom another about 300 added in the next half an hour. They chanted antigovernmental and antipresidential slogans, slogans against communism and pro Timisoara. Several appeals were made that the meeting should stick to its original purpose.

Under the title "Document" the Military Prosecutor's Office of Brasov County released on 21 December a list with the names of those killed in the December 1989 revolution in Brasov County (name, Christian name, age, occupation, work place, place, date and hour of death). Worth mentioning is the fact that of all the dead, 17 were under 20, and 17 between 20 and 30.

Anniversary Marked in Craiova, Cluj

*AU2212154890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0913 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1990—A meeting was called at Craiova Friday by the FSN [National Salvation Front] Dolj County Council to mark one year since the victory of the revolution.

Speakers to the meeting brought back to memory major moments of the Romanian revolution with the stress falling on the ideals for which so many people died one year ago that must come true, on constructive dialogue and national conciliation, respect for human freedoms, democracy and dignity, for quiet, understanding and peace.

Also on Friday a protest meeting was called in Cluj-Napoca by Romania's Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum and the Civic Alliance. The meeting which was attended by some two thousand people was addressed by Doina Cornea, the forum's president, Septimiu Rimboiu from the Cluj branch of the Civic Alliance, Gustav Heredi from the UDMR [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania], and other representatives of the political groups and associations in the forum's membership. Antipresidential and antigovernmental slogans were chanted by protesters who called on the president of the country, the prime minister and Parliament to resign.

Ceremony Held at TV Building 22 Dec

*AU2212151490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1301 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/12/1990—Marking one year since the revolution, wreaths were laid Saturday at the memorial outside the television building on behalf of the Presidency of Romania, Parliament and the government, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of the Interior, the Romanian Intelligence Service, the City

Council, the Romanian Television, the Pitesti paratroopers, the National Salvation Front, the People's Alliance, the Socialist Party of Labour, the teaching staff and students of the Institute of Civil Engineering.

Attending were Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, Eugen Dimarescu, minister of state, Col-Gen. Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, Doru Viorel Ursu, minister of the interior, Andrei Plesu, minister of culture, executives of ministries and central institutions, representatives of economic units, workmates and colleagues of the heroes, a large public.

Wreaths Laid at Heroes' Cemetery 22 Dec

AU2212202990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1839 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/12/1990—The commemoration of the heroes of the December 1989 revolution was observed in Bucharest on Saturday by a wreath-laying ceremony at the Revolution Heroes' Cemetery. This moment of paying homage to those dead for freedom, dignity and democracy was attended by Romania's President Ion Iliescu, the president of the Senate, Alexandru Barladeanu, the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Dan Martian, Prime Minister Petre Roman, by other members of the government, as well as by Bucharest Mayor General Nicolae Viorel Oproiu, who laid wreaths of flowers while the Heroes' March was played.

His Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist officiated the commemoration service for the revolution martyrs, praying together with those present for the eternal rest of the deceased.

After the religious ceremony, Romania's president talked to members of the bereaved families.

Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the Romanian Patriarchy, of the War Veterans' National Association, of the "21 December" Association as well as on behalf of political parties and nongovernmental organisations.

The Revolution Square in the capital city hosted the ceremony of unveiling the white marble commemorative monument built by architects Dan Oproiu and Gheorghe Verona at Bucharest mayorship's initiative. After a group of priests had sanctified the monument, wreaths of flowers were laid on behalf of the presidency, of Romania's Parliament, of the government, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of the Interior, the War Veterans' National Association, Bucharest mayorship, "Club 22" Association, as well as on behalf of political parties, associations and organisations. A religious service was officiated.

Those ceremonies were attended by Prime Minister Petre Roman, senators and deputies representing Parliament's political configuration, generals and senior officers, by other officials.

On the sanctification of the commemorative monument in the University Square a religious service was officiated and wreaths were laid to the memory of those having died there in the night of December 21-22, 1989. The solemnity of the moment was marred by the boos and hisses of a group of about 200 individuals who were demonstrating while the national anthem was played. The attendance included representatives of the presidency, Romania's Parliament, the government, political formations.

Similar ceremonies took also place in the Romana Square where a black marble memorial plaque with the words "Glory to Our Martyrs December 1989" written on it was unveiled, as well as in front of the Romanian Television and at the monument in front of the Military Academy.

Commemorative events took place on Saturday, 22 December, throughout the country marking one year since the victory of the Romanian revolution of December 1989 and remembering those who died in those days. In Iasi, in front of the Palace of Culture an impressive triptych erected in the memory of the martyrs who died in the fight against the dictatorship and despotism was unveiled and consecrated during a solemnity. The remembrance service was performed by a group of priests at head with Reverend Father Daniel, Metropolitan of Moldova and Bukovina.

In Tirgu Mures hundreds of people gathered at the crucifix in the Revolution Square, representing, besides local authorities, several institutions, enterprises, various parties and political and union organizations. The ceremony began with "Desteapta-te Romane" ["Awake, Romanian"], Romania's national anthem, the observance of a moment's silence and a remembrance service performed by His Holiness Andrei Mureseanu, Bishop of Alba Iulia. Floral wreaths were laid.

In Brasov, wreaths were laid in various parts of the town, services were performed in the memory of the heroes of the revolution, and a silence march was staged to the Townhall Square.

Ceremonies were held, religious services were performed, wreaths were laid, monuments were unveiled, rallies took place in Alexandria, (Teleorman County), Buzau, Cluj, Bistrita, Giurgiu, Reghin, Craiova, Sibiu and other towns.

Everywhere an atmosphere of calm prevailed, of deep gratitude for the sacrifice of the heroes who died in December 1989.

A delegation of the Popular Front of Moldova were in Cluj-Napoca on 21 and 22 December to attend, alongside the natives, the solemnities that marked one year since the Romanian antitotalitarian and anticommunist revolution.

'Hundreds' Rally in University Square

AU2212181990 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] According to ROMPRES, traffic was again interrupted in University Square this afternoon. Several hundreds of stray demonstrators or groups of demonstrators are occupying the carriageway and conducting heated debates, without chanting slogans or displaying banners.

Near the wayside crucifix in the square, scores of citizens are lighting candles, in honor of the heroes who fell in the revolution.

No order-keeping organs have been noticed in the area. No incidents were reported.

Radio Reports Vandalism

AU2312141990 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0500 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Yesterday, in the afternoon and evening, traffic was disturbed in Bucharest's University Square. Several hundred demonstrators blocked the road and chanted slogans against the president and the government, destroyed and set on fire the wreaths laid there on behalf of the presidency, Parliament, government, and the National Salvation Front [FSN]. A group of demonstrators then marched toward Romana Square, Victory Square, and the television headquarters chanting insults against the president, other officials, and television management. The column eventually returned to University Square, where small groups of people continued to block the traffic.

This morning, road traffic resumed in University Square. The flow of traffic is normal.

University Square Traffic Blocked

AU2312165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1544 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/1990—Sunday at noon traffic was again obstructed in University Square by a group of about 200-300 people. At 16:00 hours, without using force, the police tried to free the roadway but with no success. Anti-governmental and anti-presidential slogans were chanted. There is no information about the membership of those present in the square to any specific organization.

Traffic Resumes

AU2312205490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] ROMPRES announces that, following the intervention of the police, motor traffic resumed in University Square this evening, after 1800.

'21 December' Marks First Revolution Anniversary

AU2212152490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0359 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/12/1990—Friday, December 21, 1990 members of the "December 21" Association, honouring the memory of the heroes who died during the Romanian revolution of December 1989 in Bucharest, laid wreaths in the places where the enemy's bullets ended the life of people determined to defeat dictatorship.

The participants set off from the Romana Square, where a large black marble plaque reads: "Glory to our martyrs December 1989" and completed ceremonies outside the Dalles Hall, at the University Square triptych and beside the Coltea Hospital. The march ended at the Cemetery of the Revolution's Heroes. The association's representatives and relatives of the victims lead wreaths and lit candles in a pious atmosphere of respect for the dead. A group of priests performed religious services.

Senators Voiculescu, Iosif Attacked by Protestors

AU2212152390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0400 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/12/1990—On Friday morning, a few hundreds of demonstrators in the University Square stopped a car that contained senators Gelu Voican Voiculescu and Dan Iosif. They broke the car's window and tried to pull out the two senators who managed however to escape their attackers and drove away.

PNT-cd: President Must Be Forced to Resign

AU2212151190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1338 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/12/1990—In a statement released on the first anniversary of the December 1989 revolution, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] reasserts its well-known thesis that the revolution was "confiscated while in progress" by a group of "power-seekers, some of them former communist leaders who seized power" for the only purpose of "maintaining by all means a neocommunist group in control of the country and sabotage the changes required by the Romanians' democratic ideals."

In the same statement the Peasant Party reiterates its opinion that the May 20 elections were "deeply vitiated, dishonest and unfair" and concludes that "Parliament must be dissolved, the government dismissed and the president forced to resign."

The Peasant Party further shows that, in its opinion, a new government should be created, consisting of neutral personalities, meant to hold new elections. Prior to

drafting a new constitution a referendum should be organized whereby people may express their option as to the form of government.

Government Holds 22 Dec Meeting on Anniversary

AU2212201890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1857 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/12/1990—The Romanian Government met on Saturday at noon. On the occasion the prime minister and the other members of the government made touching addresses, remembering important moments from the days of the revolution. Reference was made to the government's six months' activity, and to its future intentions.

The government asserted its decision to continue its activity and prove itself worthy of the Parliament's trust.

Quiet Christmas Atmosphere in Timisoara

AU2312162390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1533 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/1990—It is quiet in Timisoara on Sunday 23 December. The town makes preparations for Christmas. The Opera House Square—the hottest area of the December 1989 revolution—is adorned with little flags and colour lights. Christmas trees are being adorned. The facade of the prefecture and the fir trees in front of it are bathed in colour lights. On loudspeakers one can hear music, carols, Christmas songs. Children's park sees the same hectic activity. Remembrance services are performed at the Metropolitan Cathedral, at other places of worship in town and throughout the county in the memory of the martyr heroes of the December 1989 revolution.

The inhabitants of Timisoara are awaiting carol singers, an ancient custom with the Romanians.

Bucharest Students Stop Strike; Issue Communique

AU2112173990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0841 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—A communique released by the member organizations of the Bucharest Students' Convention announces the termination of the Bucharest students' strike.

The same communique shows however that the organizations in the membership of the Bucharest Students' convention further sustain the program of claims endorsed as a resolution at the Students' National Conference of December 7, 1990, are by the side of their fellow students in the other academic centres in the country that are on strike, and that they will continue the claim actions also during holidays, in the same peaceful, non-violent way.

It is also announced that a strike picket for the Bucharest Academic Centre will function as of December 22 at the Fine Arts Academy.

Constanta Strike 'Uncertain'; Dockers Working

AU2212151690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0912 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/12/1990—The announced strike of the Independent Navigators Union at Constanta is still in an organizational stage as the necessary majority for the strike to start could not be met by Friday. For the time being, everything is uncertain. There are in the Port of Constanta a few ships that blow their sirens from time to time, while dock workers go about their duties as usual.

5 Cluj Students Begin 'Indefinite' Hunger Strike

AU2112155790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1253 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—Five Cluj students have started hunger strike for an indefinite period of time, in token of protest "against the way how the current regime governs the country" and demand President Iliescu's resignation.

The five strikers are Iulia Tompa and Orlando Balas of the Faculty of Letters, Eugen Szep Tischler, Adrian Boila and Cosmin Podut of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering.

Television President, TU Leader Hold Talks

AU2112145190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0852 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—An interview took place on December 19 in the evening, at the headquarters of the Free Union of the Romanian Radio Television, between Razvan Theodorescu, president of the Radio Television, and Dumitru Iuga, chairman of the Television Free Union, who was on the 19th day of hunger strike.

They agreed at the meeting on the cessation of activity of the whole collegium of the television, with the coordination and management being ensured in the period until the reorganization of the institution by the president of the Romanian Radio Television, the annulment of all administrative sanctions from the period prior to the understanding, dictated by the respective collegium, the cessation by the television executive of any pressure on the free union and on its members.

Consequently, Dumitru Iuga decided to stop his strike.

The free union got cognizance of the agreement reached and decided to stop the warning strike.

FSN Concerned About Assault on Iordache*AU2212151590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0933 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/12/1990—Commemorations organized by the Romanian Democratic Front, the Steering Board of the National Salvation Front [FSN] shows that Claudiu Iordache, the Front's first vice president and member of the Assembly of Deputies for Timis, attended the Timisoara commemorations in answer to an invitation he was extended by organizers in his capacity as participant in the events that sparked the flame of the Romanian revolution, a FSN statement says.

We state our regret and our concern for the fact that a member of the Assembly of Deputies was assaulted and insulted in the street, which is chiefly due to the climate of intolerance and hatred maintained by several newly created political organizations, the statement says.

We interpret Claudiu Iordache's move as the reaction of an honest man before an intolerant crowd incited by people who actually fail to support the true values of democracy.

The National Salvation Front takes the view that Claudiu Iordache's act cannot change his position as a FSN elected parliamentarian for Timis or his office within our political movement, the statement winds up.

Iordache Views Events in Timisoara, Resigns*AU2212151390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1341 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/12/1990—Developments are very special in Timisoara, Mr. Claudiu Iordache, first vice-president of the National Salvation Front, appreciates in an interview with daily "ADEVARUL."

A first expression of the majority, he said, was made on May 20. There was no second opportunity. That makes the minority assume the rights of a majority, who is oppressed by the aforementioned minority.

"What happens to me is of less concern, he said, but I think that Timisoara has a right to clarify the dilemma it is now facing. In other words, we should all know who speaks on behalf of Timisoara and by what authority. I am convinced I have never once deviated from the spirit of Timisoara."

Referring to a motion by the participants in the December 20, 1990 meeting in Timisoara which demands the parliamentarians who represent that town to withdraw, Mr. Claudiu Iordache said in an interview with daily "ROMANIA LIBERA": "If the electorate who gave us their vote express in their majority one wish or another, we can but obey."

Mention should be made that during the December 20 meeting in Timisoara, Mr. Claudiu Iordache, speaking of

his MP [member of Parliament] mandate, said: "I resign, here and now, in front of you all." He took out his MP card and laid it on the banister of the Opera House balcony where he spoke from.

PNT-cd Protests Vatra Romaneasca Statement*AU2412100890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
18 Dec 90 p 4*

[Unattributed "protest" by Cluj County Organization of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party]

[Text] Protest

We took note with profound indignation of the television statement made on the evening of Monday, 10 December 1990, by the Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR] in connection with the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania [FDAR] and the Civic Alliance [AC]. The accusations brought against the FDAR and AC members can only be qualified as treasonous. They amount to that kind of slander specific to the communist propaganda; therefore, they cannot be the subject of civilized and dignified polemics. Through their absurdity, these accusations can do no moral or political harm either to the political, cultural, and democratic personalities or to the political heirs of the 1918 Union authors and of the most authentic representatives of the 1945 communist resistance, who belong to the FDAR and the AC. We, therefore, consider it useless to take legal steps against this action, as we would have done under different conditions.

Both polemics and the courts are useless, because the PUNR statement actually did a real service to the cause of truth and democracy, by disclosing this party's true goals and intentions, which until now were hidden behind the usual communist demagoguery. This statement, full of hatred and calumny, reveals that the PUNR is the political expression of the Vatra Romaneasca and totally alien to true patriotism and the nation's vital interests. It also proves that it follows the goals of the FSN [National Salvation Front], whose satellite it is. This explains its attempt to discredit, through such irresponsible statements, the forces which represent the opposition today, that is the anticrypto-communist opposition in the country.

We are convinced that the Romanian public has acquired the necessary power of judgment to separate truth, patriotism, and good faith from slander, demagoguery, and enmity.

The PNT-cd Cluj County Organization

PNL Leader Criticizes Government's Priorities*AU2212190890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1524 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1990—The National Liberal Party [PNL] takes the view that there is in Romania a very serious economic crisis overlain by a

social crisis which is about to become serious, a general discontent, which must be avoided, says Radu Campeanu, PNL president, in an interview with the daily "LIBERTATEA."

Reminding that he told President Ion Iliescu all that when he met him on 13 December, Mr. Campeanu stressed that, in his opinion, "Romania cannot take social convulsions or loss of life any more." To avoid this, he is of the opinion that "the political solution comes first, and the economic one next: Political, because the contestation of power is general, there is a kind of continuing criticism, which breeds hopelessness and mistrust."

Stating his opinion on the performance of the government in power, Radu Campeanu said that he could not deny its good intentions or a certain technical competence, but, he said, "there is no political breath to instill confidence, dynamism, firmness in making decisions and putting them to work, which would help a concerted effort to break the deadlock we are in without convulsions." In his opinions the PNL idea to form a national unity government "would give credibility not only at home but also abroad," credibility which the present government lacks, for all great effort it has made. However, Mr. Campeanu admits that the problems the present government was faced with would have been the same for any other cabinet, but he blames the government for belated action more than once, for sending unimportant bills to parliament at the expense of essential ones and above all for failing to set the right priorities.

On the activity of the opposition in Parliament, Mr. Campeanu assessed it as "very difficult" having to cope with "intolerance whenever it states its own view."

That President Ion Iliescu is now contested is ascribed by Radu Campeanu to a Romanian mentality according to which "the one atop is contested," although he holds "the president responsible for a thing or two."

PSDR Group Opposes Internal Leadership Stand

AU2012212390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2007 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/12/1990—The parliamentary group of the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party (PSDR) sent ROMPRES a communique pointing out that, although on several occasions they had criticised some of the government's decisions, they now considered it necessary to observe the constructive spirit of the opposition, reaffirming their support of the Parliament's proclamation to the country (December 13, 1990), in which an appeal was being made to calm and quiet, to order, to the safeguarding of the lawful institutions.

In that context the parliamentary group of the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party was surprised at and disappointed by the position of the party's leadership which,

in a communique broadcast by the national radio station, appreciated the government's resignation as "necessary and opportune."

"Expressing the electorate's will, we dissociate ourselves from the party's present leadership in its initiative which can but deteriorate further the climate of instability and intolerance in the country," reads the communique.

Convention Set Up To Fight for Truth, Democracy

AU2012152490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1328 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/12/1990—Wednesday, December 19, the "national extraparlimentary convention" was created, made up of the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Democratic National Party, the Independent Christian Democratic Peasant Party, the Christian-Democratic Party of the Revolution, the Democratic Unity Party, the Progressive Democratic Party, the Social Christian Democratic Party, the Party for Honouring the Revolution's Heroes and National Salvation, the Romanian Home of Democratic Europe Party, the Romanian National Party, Bucharest's branch of the Romanian Popular Front, the Free Democratic Party of Social Justice, the Alliance for Democracy Party, the Democratic Progressive Party based in Baia Mare.

The convention, says a communique issued on the occasion, aims to fight, on the basis of a concise joint program, for truth and democracy in Romania, against left or right-wing totalitarianism. The convention is open to all democratic forces.

Civic Alliance's Draft Charter Reported

AU2112160090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1017 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—The Civic Alliance means to be a non-government institution, a concentration of the extra parliamentary, active and responsible forces that should influence in a positive and democratic manner the political decision in the state, resting upon the traditions of the Romanian spirituality and the ideas comprised in the universal declaration of human rights, reads the draft charter of the Civic Alliance of Romania.

The Civic Alliance wishes to help the country out of the crisis generated first of all by the communist dictatorship imposed on the Romanian people by a foreign power, then by the concealment of the truth about the December 1989 revolution and the subsequent social movements that culminated with the tragical events of June 13-15, by the purposeful disunion promoted between workers and students and intellectuals, the inter confessional and inter ethnic disunion, the draft shows.

The Civic Alliance will work for Romania's moral, economic and political reconstruction, in the spirit of the constitutional, juridical, economic principles, of social protection and spiritual reform, from which we mention:

national referendum on the form of government, guaranteeing by the new constitution of the operation of the multi-party system and the observance of human rights, of the minorities' rights, real power-sharing in the state, the reform of the judicial bodies aiming at the elimination of the sequels of communism, the democratization of the military structures under the Ministry of National Defense, the Romanian Intelligence Service and the Ministry of the Interior, according to the criteria presented by the Committee of Action for the Army's Democratization in February 1990. Of them, the Civic Alliance sustains especially the idea that the Romanian Army should remain, by tradition and purpose, defender of the people and the homeland, by the people's side in any circumstance.

The Civic Alliance expresses its firm option for a genuine market economy, the guaranteeing by the constitution of the citizens' right to private property and free economic activity, the radical reform of the banking system, its desatization and privatization in order to avoid inflation, and the provision of the most adequate framework for the attraction of foreign capital.

As for the social protection, the Civic Alliance understands by it the meeting of the citizens' fundamental needs—i.e. the recognition of the personal value—of the individual's work and social contribution.

The Civic Alliance will support the freeing of culture of any subservience to the power, the rounding off of our culture with the exiled works and cultural and scientific personalities, the reorganization of the Romanian Academy. The Civic Alliance will give the church the primordial role in the spiritual recovery of the civil person.

The draft charter points to the necessity of redeeming to its natural rights the profession of teacher and of ensuring full equality of opportunities to all children and youth. Academic education needs autonomy, a fundamental principle of organization of the Romanian academic instruction.

Iliescu Meets Inquiry Commission Into June Events

*AU2012163590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1600 GMT 20 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/12/1990—This morning the parliamentary commission inquiring into the June 13-15 events met in plenum with Romania's President Ion Iliescu at Parliament's Palace.

On the occasion an open and thorough discussion was held on the June 13-15 events to clarify them.

Based on the information got until now, the commission began to draft the final report.

TAROM Navigation Personnel Continue Strike

*AU2112155690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1247 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/12/1990—The strike of TAROM navigation personnel—about 800 people, 500 of whom are air hostesses—that started December 14, continues. Thursday, December 20, the strikers' representatives had negotiations with the government. No decisions were reported after the dialogue with the executive power, for putting an end to the strike, on grounds that it is to be decided only by the General Assembly of the Navigation Personnel Union.

The strike was staged before the winter holidays, when traffic is busy. Great losses are estimated, in both lei and hard currency, amounting to thousands of dollars daily. The navigation staff asked for a special status, in consideration of their work conditions. Today, Thursday, December 21, is the seventh day of strike. "The strike implications cannot be calculated yet" said Dumitru Prunariu, head of the Civil Aviation Department. It's a pity that extremely competent people, deserving esteem and respect, are slung mud at. There are many people who consider the strike absurd, but who must bear its consequences together with the others, through the organizers' actions."

Referring to the state of total uncertainty the passengers, the enterprise, all categories of airport workers have to face, Radu Stanescu, TAROM's commercial manager says the strike of the navigation personnel infringes upon the law.

Solidarity Rally With Moldova Held in Iasi

*AU2312162290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1537 GMT 23 Dec 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/1990—A rally of solidarity with the diplomatic actions and steps taken by the Parliament and the Popular Front of Moldova for the independence of the Republic of Moldova and against the ten-day ultimatum recently issued by the Moscow authorities was staged in the Square of the Palace of Culture in Iasi on Sunday. The rally was organized by the Iasi branches of the Civic Alliance, the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania, "Agora" Society, the Students' Convention, University Solidarity and the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association. The speakers referred to the support the Romanians on the right bank of the Prut give to their brothers on the other bank of the river and criticised the Romanian authorities for not having expressed yet their firm stand on Bessarabia. Stress was laid on the hardships and risks, on the intimidation, defiance and threat the Romanians on the other side of the Prut are experiencing.

As regards the situation in Romania, the speakers pointed to the moral and authoritative crisis, to the desolation prevailing on the eve of Christmas and New Year celebrations, the still very low standard of living, demanding the resignation of the Parliament and of the

country's president, the formation of a transition government and the calling of early elections.

PNT-cd Hails Moldova's Independence Declaration

AU2412101890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
18 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed "statement" by the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party on Moldova Republic's independence declaration]

[Text]Statement

The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] learned with immense joy that today, Sunday 16 December 1990, Romania's part beyond the Prut River, the Republic of Moldova, declared itself independent.

We hail this action of exceptional importance for the Romanian people.

As a party that has always fought for the emancipation of Romanians from foreign domination and for their statal unity, we officially recognize the independence of Moldova from beyond the Prut River.

The PNT-cd imperatively asks the Romanian Government to prove its patriotism and immediately extend official recognition to the independence of the Republic of Moldova. The government should take steps to determine the democratic countries of Europe and the world over to do the same.

We are convinced that the historic event in Kishinev will contribute to building a new and truly democratic Europe.

The PNT-cd leadership

Roman Sends Congratulations to Bulgaria's Popov

AU2012164490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1604 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/12/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman sent a telegram to Mr. Dimitur Popov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria, whereby he conveys him congratulations on his appointment to that office. The telegram expresses the conviction that the irreversible democratisation process in the two countries embarked on the path toward market economy offers new and concrete opportunities for the development and further deepening of the collaboration between the Romanian and Bulgarian Governments and peoples in all fields of mutual interest, for the benefit of peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and worldwide.

Neagu Attends Black Sea Region Countries' Meeting

AU2112155890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2249 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/12/1990—Taking the floor within the debates of the meeting of the countries bordering the Black Sea which discuss Turkey's initiative concerning the creation of "an area of economic cooperation in the Black Sea region", Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, underscored the special value of that initiative in the context of the new climate and political realities in Europe when economic progress becomes the main concern of the states on the continent.

In Romania's opinion, he emphasized, the deepening and diversification of collaboration of the countries bordering the Black Sea in the economic, commercial, monetary-financial and other fields are likely to increase national potential and to make a better use of each country's resources. At the same time, the development of a broad multilateral cooperation in the Black Sea region is likely to stimulate the efforts made in various areas on the continent for establishing a European economic space.

The states bordering the Black Sea, Mr. Romulus Neagu also underscored, have many mutual interests greatly caused by their neighborliness, by the complementarity of their national economies and by the stage of their bilateral collaboration. The Romanian government pays special attention to the questions related to the transition to market economy, among which the initiation and consolidation of cooperation among small and medium-sized enterprises, the liberalization of economic and commercial exchanges, of multilateral projects of mutual interest. Of special significance is also the development of transports and communications in the Black Sea region, the cooperation in informatics and power, the intensification of the contacts and collaboration among the chambers of trade and industry, among the businessmen and professional associations.

Romania is also interested in setting up a sea line to join the main harbors of the countries bordering the Black Sea, in granting storage facilities in preferential system or on reciprocity for bilateral trade or with third countries including the Danube Canal- Black Sea region.

At the same time, the Romanian dignitary presented Romania's concerns to intensify cooperation in protecting the areas of national or regional interest, such as the Danube Delta, as well as in developing technologies to improve environmental conditions and to rationally use the resources in the Black Sea. Such a collaboration would include fishery, swap of experience and common activities in capitalizing the resources in the Black Sea continental shelf, in tourism, etc.

In conclusion, Mr. Romulus Neagu specified that the expansion of the economic ties would be likely to gradually increase collaboration among the respective states on political, cultural, humanitarian and human rights planes.

Economic, Trade Agreements Signed With Korea

AU2212151790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0907 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/12/1990—Friday, December 21, 1990, Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs played host to a brief ceremony occasioned by the

coming into force of the first two agreements between Romania and the Republic of Korea: The trade agreement and the agreement on economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

Attending were Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs, Napoleon Pop, secretary of state at the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, and the ambassador of the Republic of Korea in Bucharest, Yi Hyon-hong.

Addresses were delivered on the occasion which underlined the importance of those documents for the development of economic and trade relations between Romania and the Republic of Korea.

Slovenia Votes in Favor of Independence

*LD2312224190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2220 GMT 23 Dec 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, December 23 (TANJUG)—Over 760,000 voters in today's plebiscite voted for a "sovereign and independent state of Slovenia," the latest data of the republican election commission indicate.

The number is enough for the plebiscite to be considered successful.

Officials View Plebiscite Results

*LD2412001190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2315 GMT 23 Dec 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia; France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly; and Lojze Peterle, president of the Executive Council, stated this evening that today's decision reflected the maturity and the democratic spirit of the Slovene people. They were speaking in response to an announcement that out of 886,000 votes counted, 839,000 were cast in favor of an autonomous and independent Slovenia.

Milan Kucan stressed that the plebiscite was an expression of the Slovene people's historical aspirations for survival and a future. Kucan said that in the plebiscite the Slovene people had exercised their right to self-determination, but not with the aim of damaging other Yugoslav peoples or threatening the security of other states in Europe. The outcome of the plebiscite provides the Slovene authorities with the necessary credibility in its negotiations with other Yugoslav peoples and with people in Europe about Slovenia's entry into all European democratic processes on an equal footing.

Dr. France Bucar is of the view that the importance of the plebiscite and its effects are far greater than assumed. This is something completely new, he asserted. According to him, in a new Europe Slovenia must be given a totally different role. Bucar said that "as of today we are a nation which must find the capacity to offer the European community its undeniable know-how."

What happened today had to happen to pave the way for something else, Lojze Peterle said. By doing this we can now join the circle of the mature nations of Europe and the world. According to Peterle, the path will not be an easy one, but the Slovene Government is prepared to shoulder the burden with responsibility, joy, and optimism.

Asked about the steps that will follow the plebiscite, Milan Kucan said that the Slovene Government saw the plebiscite—that is, the will of the majority of the people—as a serious obligation and as an optimistic support of its compatriots. The first step will be the next session of the assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, when the results will be announced officially. One of the tasks of the session will be to outline a whole series of guidelines

for the authorities to follow. Kucan expressed hope that this work will be done on the basis of interparty negotiations. He mentioned the promulgation of the Slovene Constitution as the most important task.

In the view of France Bucar, a large number of tasks has already been outlined in the law on the plebiscite. Special importance is attached to the restructuring of the Slovene nation as a whole, of the entire social fabric. In this context he placed special stress on the need to adopt a new attitude to neighbors, alliances, the Federal Assembly, and the federal government. This will be no easy task, Bucar said. How we are going to reach an agreement and overcome the transitional period is a big question. We cannot be left without a federal government or federal assembly, Bucar said. But at the same time, he added, we cannot give them the go-ahead to reconstitute the current structure of the federation.

Serbia's Second-Round Voting Ends 23 Dec

*LD2312223290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2151 GMT 23 Dec 90*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—The second round of the vote for Serbia's first post-war multi-party parliament ended at 19:00 local time this evening with the closing of polling stations.

There is still no reliable information about the turnout, but the first unofficial estimates indicate that about 50 per cent of the 4,376,858 voters in the 154 election districts where a run-off election was necessary cast their ballots today.

Some 71.48 per cent of the republic's 7,044,797-strong electorate voted in the elections' first round on December 9, in 250 election districts.

The republican election board said this evening that the first, incomplete, results will be known around noon tomorrow, while the second round's final results will be announced in the evening on Tuesday, December 25.

Ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo today once again boycotted the vote.

The election board said the voting had passed without a single incident, and that it had not yet received a single complaint about the polling procedure or violations of election rules.

The 154 seats were today contested by a total of 303 candidates, while 96 deputies from four parties won sufficient majorities to be elected in the first round.

Serbia's new assembly will have a total of 250 deputies.

Socialists Win 'Convincing Victory' in Kosovo

*LD2412090490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0818 GMT 24 Dec 90*

[Text] Pristina, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—According to preliminary data, candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia

[Socijalistacka Partija Srbije (SPS)] have won a convincing victory in Kosovo and Metohija. Out of a total of 30 deputies' seats—the number voted for in the second round—voters have opted for at least 24 Socialist candidates. In the first round, four SPS candidates won seats. Along with them, two candidates of the Citizens' Group and one from the Democratic Reform Party of Muslims from Prizren won seats. The results are expected for only two more constituencies. It was learned that independent candidates are ahead in them.

Albanians Win Kosovo Vote Despite Boycott

LD2412093390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The first multi-party assembly of the republic of Serbia will have, from Kosovo, five deputies of Albanian nationality. According to the results which have reached the provincial headquarters for the monitoring of the elections, all five candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije] from the ranks of the Albanian nationality obtained a majority in their constituencies, despite the fact that standing against them were members of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in the opposition parties and in the Citizens' Group. These are: Mehmet Ajeti, Tefik Lugici, Sejdo Bajramovic, Azem Kadri, and Halit Trnavci. As Albanians did not participate in the elections, deputies from the ranks of this nationality were elected by citizens of non-Albanian nationality in the second round.

Montenegrin Elections Reported 'Successful'

LD2312214990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2314 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 23 December (TANJUG)—Between 55 and 80 percent of the electorate, varying according to municipality, today cast their vote for the president and two members of the Montenegrin presidency, and hence it is certain that the second round of elections in this republic was successful.

This is an estimate of the Republican electoral commission, which announced that final results of the second round of elections will be made known tomorrow evening.

Croatia Adopts New Constitution 21 Dec

LD2212210390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—“The adoption of a new Constitution is a unique historic occasion,” Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said at today's ceremonial session of all three chambers of the Croatian Assembly. “First, because this Constitution represents the final divorce from the communist, socialist, self-managing, single-party system based on social ownership and the planned economy, and then because of the fact

that it constitutes the foundation for consolidating Croatia's national and state sovereignty,” Tudjman stressed.

The new Constitution and constitutional law were unanimously promulgated at the joint session of all three assembly chambers, attended by Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic; Stipe Mesic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency; Slovenian representatives Milan Kucan and Franc Bucar; Bosnia-Herzegovina Representatives Alija Izetbegovic, Stjepan Kljucic, and Jure Pelivan; and representatives of Croatia's social and political life and some religious communities.

The Serbian Democratic Party deputies in the assembly and the 16 deputies of Serbian nationality from the left-wing bloc, who walked out of yesterday's session in protest because their proposals had not been included in the Constitution, did not attend today's session. The ceremony was not attended by representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the second largest religious community in Croatia, either.

After invoking the anthem, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman addressed the deputies. [passage omitted] Tudjman stressed that the majority of Serbs in Croatia do not question their loyalty to Croatia's legal democratic authorities.

Speaking about a way out of the state crisis in Yugoslavia, Tudjman noted that Croatia, along with Slovenia, had prepared a draft confederal treaty which would transform Yugoslavia in to an alliance of sovereign states. Pointing out some of the principles of this solution to the current Yugoslav crisis, Tudjman stressed that they include recognizing the present inter-republican borders, not accepting the federation's arbitration regarding republican sovereignty, and gradually consolidating, in a sensible manner, the sovereign Republic of Croatia with all the competences of a state.

Tudjman asked at the end of his address: Why do we not declare independence straight away, or call a plebiscite? He answered this question by stressing that there is no need for a plebiscite because all the parties in Croatia are already committed to a sovereign and autonomous Croatia. A plebiscite itself would not mean new commitments but could exacerbate the misunderstanding and resistance in some other republics and among a considerable number of Serbs in Croatia and the Yugoslav People's Army, which might provide a pretext for those who want to incite bloodshed and civil war.

Even the international democratic public does not accept the program of Yugoslavia's disintegration and the changing of the borders in Europe, Tudjman stressed. He noted that the Croatian leadership took into account the fact that Croatian people also live in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro.

This is why, Tudjman concluded, we are offering the possibility of transforming Yugoslavia into one or more

alliances of states; but if no agreement is feasible, then we advocate disbanding in a democratic way.

Croatian Serbs Reject New Constitution

LD2312223690 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2146 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Beli Manastir, December 23 (TANJUG)—Jovan Raskovic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Croatia, said on Sunday that the Serbs in this Yugoslav Republic do not accept its new Constitution, formally proclaimed by the Croatian parliament yesterday.

Addressing an election meeting of his party at Beli Manastir, Northern Croatia, Raskovic called the Constitution "ethnocratic" because it "imposes the Croatian people's sovereignty on the Serbian people."

He repeated that the Serbs in Croatia would not accept Yugoslavia as a confederation. If the confederation were created, however, a question of borders between individual Yugoslav republics would inevitably be posed, he said.

The president of the Serbian Democratic Party which rallies Serbs in Croatia said that if Yugoslavia broke up, his party would urge the formation of another Serbian state in the west of the country. He made it clear that the new state would comprise western parts of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the newly-formed autonomous region of Krajina, in Southern Croatia. It would have a population of 3 million and an area double that of the Republic of Slovenia.

The new state would be created democratically, by a referendum, said Raskovic. He continued: "The Serbian people has had enough of wars and sacrifices. If need be however, the Serbs would fight again, but this time exclusively for their own interests."

Knin Serbs Protest New Constitution

LD2112220390 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2047 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, Dec 21 (TANJUG) About 5,000 Serbs protested today in Knin, a town in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, against the adoption of Croatia's new Constitution.

The Serbs gathered at today's protest rally, held despite the Croatian Interior Ministry's ban on gatherings during the adoption and promulgation of the constitution, scheduled for tomorrow, reiterated their accusations of the "Croatocentric authority". [quotation marks as received]

Serbs in Croatia experience the new Croatian Constitution as an attack on their national cultural and historical rights and believe that it treats them as second-rate citizens. They do not accept the provision included in the Croatian constitution which makes it possible for the republic to secede from Yugoslavia.

Knin Mayor Milan Babic told the assembled multitude that Serbs have their autonomous region (Krajina) and their Yugoslavia and had, therefore, today formally proclaimed a 'statute of the Serbian Autonomous Region-Karjina', which encompasses ten municipalities predominantly populated by Serbs.

The statute of the Serbian Autonomous Region, which the Croatian authorities consider illegitimate, proclaims Milan Babic president of Krajina.

The president of the Serbian Democratic Party, Academician Jovan Raskovic, said at the rally today that the proclamation of the statute had 'united the whole Serbian nation'.

Serbs in Croatia have felt threatened since the coming to power of the National Croatian Democratic Union (CDU). Last summer, Serbs clashed with Croatian special units on several occasions, refusing to accept the Croatian authorities' decision to disarm police reservists in Serb-populated municipalities.

Zagreb Rally Protests Constitution

LD2112181690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Croatian Party of Justice [Hrvatska Stranka Prava] and the Croatian Nation-Building Movement [Hrvatski Drzavnotvorni Pokret] held a protest rally this afternoon in Zagreb's Jelacic Square, where they expressed their opposition to the adoption of the new republican constitution. In their demand sent to the Croatian Assembly, they said that "it is an imposed constitution because it is being adopted without the Croatian people's consent." [passage omitted]

Amendment on Republic Relations Adopted

LD2112184790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Croatian Assembly adopted the new Constitution of the Croatian Republic this evening. After the all-day discussion on the draft, the constitutional commission adopted only one amendment to the proposed text which was then adopted almost unanimously—with only one vote against—by all the Assembly chambers. Article 135 of the new Constitution regulates the way in which alliances may be formed between the Croatian Republic and other states, as well as the ways in which Croatia could secede from the existing alliances. According to this provision Croatia can form a coalition or withdraw from it if two-thirds of all chamber members vote for a proposal submitted by one-third of the members of the Chamber of Representatives.

A decision becomes final if more than 50 percent of registered voters vote for it at a referendum within 30 days. However, if an emergency situation is imposed,

Croatia could secede if only two-thirds of the representatives present vote for it, and in this case there is no need to call a referendum.

Croatian Ministry Bans Public Gatherings

LD2112140390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] banned all public meetings and demonstrations on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia today and tomorrow for the duration of the Croatian Assembly session. The MUP and the city of Zagreb police administration explained the decision by stating that the formal adoption of the constitution should take place in a peaceful and dignified atmosphere.

The ban also refers to protest demonstrations in Zagreb scheduled to take place on Ban Jelacic Square today, which were organized by the Croatian Party of Justice [Hrvatska Stranka Prava] and the Croatian Nation-building Movement [Hrvatski Drzavotvorni Pokret], which are dissatisfied with the proposed text of a new Croatian constitution. Due to the general political situation in the country—the adoption of a new Croatian constitution, a plebiscite in Slovenia, and the second round of voting in Serbia—the MUP considers that a violation of peace and order and possible provocations could threaten an atmosphere of democracy and could be used as an excuse by all the opponents of a sovereign Croatian state for violence and the use of unconstitutional and illegal means, we read in the MUP statement.

Kosovo Authorities Detain Trade Union Leaders

LD2412014390 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] While elections to the Serbian Assembly were in progress the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs continued to detain citizens of Albanian nationality. For instance, after 17 hours spent at Pristina's Internal Affairs Secretariat for so-called fact-finding talks, Aziz Abrasi, deputy chairman of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, and Burhan Kavaja, chairman of the Independent Trade Unions Executive Committee, were released at noon today.

According to Aziz Abrasi, internal affairs inspectors wanted to know why his union had changed its tune and had started to advise workers of Albanian nationality to safeguard their jobs; why he, as someone who allegedly has no status as a free citizens and who is under investigation, had taken on a post in the Independent Trade Unions. Burhan Kavaja stressed that the inspectors had threatened to call him to account if sacked Albanian workers tried to use force to go back to their work places.

The two leaders of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo also stated that they had not been physically mistreated, but were forced to spend all 17 hours in a cold cellar.

Slovenian Defense Minister Says Army 'Calm'

LD2312165890 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1626 gmt 23 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—Defence Minister of Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia Janez Jansa said here today that the country's military leadership "might react to the results of the republic's plebiscite on independence and sovereignty".

Speaking at a press conference in Ljubljana, Jansa said that the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia "is calm for the time being".

"If the military leadership considers an idea of attempting an intervention in Slovenia", said Jansa, "This would crash the internal structure of the Yugoslav People's Army, whose composition is multi-national".

In Jansa's view, the problem of withdrawing the Federal Army from Slovenia, i.e. its transformation into a confederal army, will arise after the plebiscite, together with that of partitioning the property of the federation.

The procedure of Slovenia becoming independent will not be completed within the next six months, said Jansa, adding that "during this transition period Slovenia will advocate the stand that the federation perform a minimum of its necessary functions".

European parliament member Giorgio Rosseti, an observer in the plebiscite, told reporters at the same press conference that "if the Slovenian people opt for an independent and sovereign state, the European Community will have to recognize these changes".

Slovenia's Peterle Does Not Expect Civil War

AU2412095390 Vienna KURIER in German
22 Dec 90 p 4

[Interview with Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Hans-Henning Scharsach; place and date not given: "Day of the People: 'No Fear of Civil War'"]

[Excerpts] [Scharsach] On the one hand, Slovenia is putting up a political fight for its independence. On the other hand, it wants to participate in the European integration process. Is this not a contradiction?

[Peterle] No, on the contrary. One is the prerequisite for the other. Integration is only conceivable as a voluntary process of sovereign peoples. With the plebiscite, we provide our citizens with the opportunity to decide on independence. Only a sovereign Slovenia will be able to participate in the European integration process. [passage omitted]

[Scharsach] Even if an overwhelming majority is in favor of independence on the day before Christmas [23 December], the resistance will not be overcome by it.

[Peterle] I know of course what a risk we are taking, but there is no other way. Moreover, I personally believe that the time for a military coup is over. The Army simply does not want to take note of the historic changes. It did not even recognize the election results in Slovenia and Croatia. It still speaks of the "Socialist Republic of Slovenia," although the term "socialist" was canceled long ago. The new party of the generals still represents a political claim by the Army which cannot exist in a democracy and which will never again exist in our country. This Army is lagging behind the times. It was overtaken by developments and the new constitutional order long ago.

[Scharsach] The territorial defense system, which developed from the partisans' movement, is subject to the republics. Will this continue to be the case?

[Peterle] This will continue to be the case! We decidedly rejected the Army's demand to hand over the weapons. The territorial defense system has always been under the political leadership of the republics. It has always been financed by the republics. It serves territorial defense.

[Scharsach] If need be, also against its own Army?

[Peterle] I cannot imagine a civil war breaking out; however, we would not be diverted from the course that is supported by the population without a fight. [passage omitted]

JNA Said Ready To Defend Country's Integrity

*AU2212194090 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 90*

[Text] The Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is fully combat-ready in every respect and determined to defend the entirety of Yugoslavia's territory and its integrity and free social development. This was stated, among other things, by Colonel General Aleksandar Spirkovski, commander of the first military district, speaking in Kragujevac. On this occasion he presented a big plaque of the Yugoslav People's Army to the artillery-rocket unit of Andjelko Doknic in the Radomir Putnik barracks for achieving the best results in this year's competition of this army branch, entitled: Let us choose the best unit."

Colonel General Aleksandar Spirkovski stressed:

[Begin Spirkovski recording] Comrades, this year we are celebrating Army Day in a situation characterized by numerous contradictions and unfavorable social conditions, at a time when all subjects of society need to invest much effort, political wisdom, reason, and tolerance to overcome the general social crisis.

The incipient democratic social processes are not being carried out evenly and are accompanied by numerous disintegrational trends and the revival of the obsolete ideologies and movements which threaten to destroy the basic civilized achievements: peace, freedom, the personal safety of citizens, and the (?survival) of Yugoslavia as a joint homeland of all peoples and nationalities.

Extreme right nationalist and separatist forces have emerged on the political scene and in some places have even won power. They do not hesitate to do anything to achieve their narrow-minded and nationalist aims. Unfortunately, these separatist forces have succeeded, with deceit and substantial and comprehensive help from the foreign factor, to mislead some citizens with various promises which they cannot fulfill. The are (?disguising) their failure with various threats, confrontations, and incidents.

Almost all institutions of the system which have federal importance have been destroyed or blocked, except the Yugoslav People's Army, which is the target of fierce attacks just because it represents the biggest obstacle to achieving the final aim—the destruction of Yugoslavia.

We, members of the first military district, support, as we have done in the past, all the incipient democratic processes in society being aware that they can only be achieved in peace and with the necessary tolerance of all political subjects in society.

Ultimatums, blackmail, and the policy of the fait accompli are unacceptable, especially attempts aimed at causing confrontations and a chaotic situation in resolving the social crisis.

Therefore, by striving for the peace and security of all our citizens we are not threatening anybody. Those who want to threaten this peace and security with force will resolutely be prevented with the same means. [end recording]